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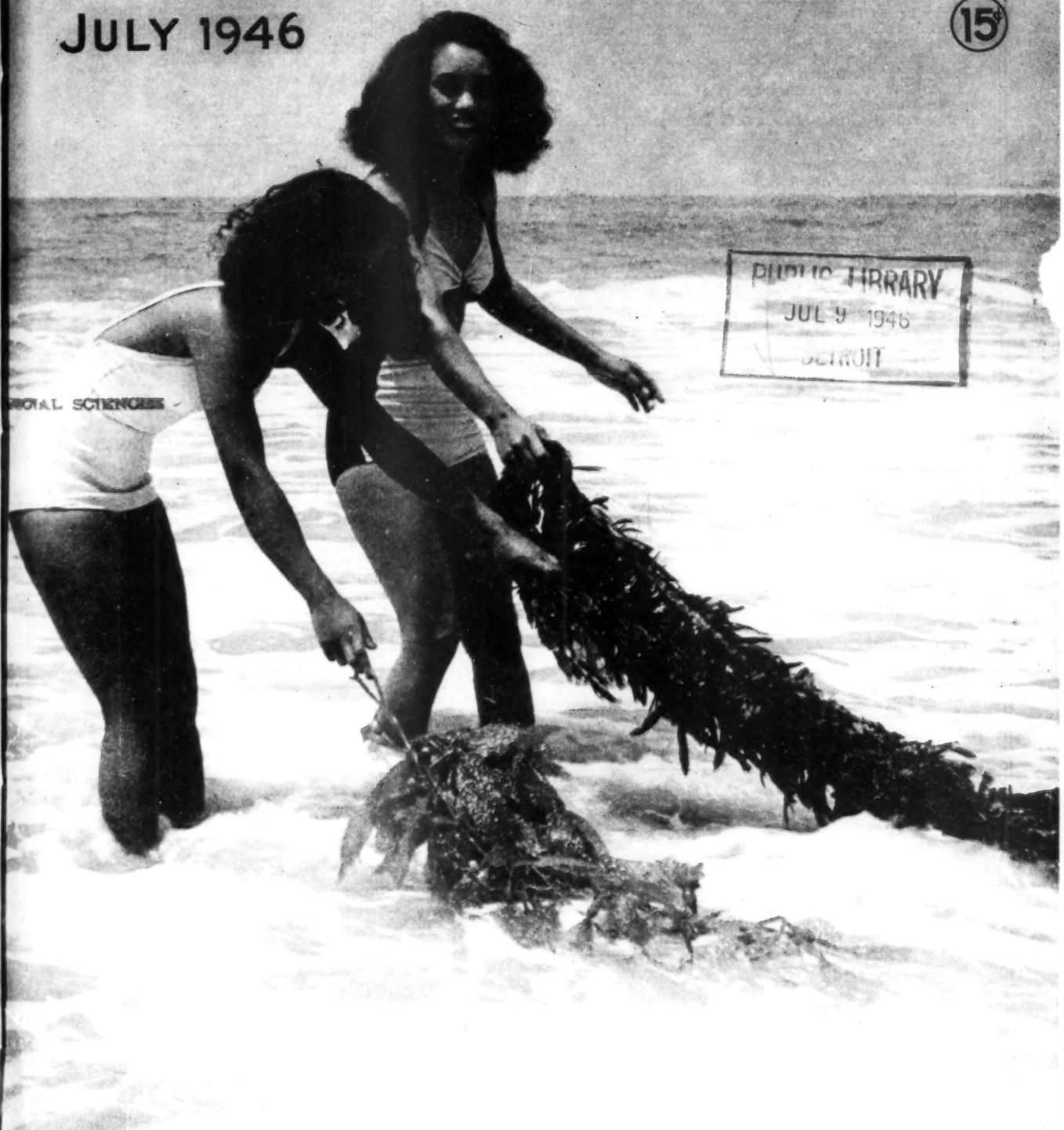

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Vol. 53, No. 7 Whole Number 427

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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HERE AND ON THE WAY

THE TWO bathing beauties on our cover this month are students at the University of California at Los Angeles. Miss Orchid Oliver, on the left, is a physical education major; and her companion, Miss Norma Roberts, is a general major at the same university.

This fine photographic study is the work of Leonard Grimes, Jr., public relations assistant of the Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company at Los Angeles, California. Artistic photography is Mr. Grimes' avocation.

HAROLD PREECE ("The Klan's Revolution of the Right'," page 202) is a Texan who has written extensively for magazines and newspapers. As an old *Crisis* contributor, his last published article was a study of the Nigerian workers strike against British imperialism, which appeared in our December number.

Mr. Preece's study of the Klan is based upon inside investigation. Since Klansmen talked to Mr. Preece as one Southerner to another, what our author has to report about the plans and methods of the night-sheet boys is straight from the horse's mouth.

A recent assault laid at the door of the Klan is the kidnap-beating of Willie Dudley, a Negro member of the United Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers international union when he refused to resign from the union.

Mr. Preece and his wife, Celia Kraft, are authors of the recently published *Dew on Jordan* (Dutton), a book on the little religious sects in the South.

HILYARD R. ROBINSON ("An African Republic Approaches its Centennial," page 204) is the nationally known architect and city planner of Washington, D. C. He is technical director of the Centennial Commission for the Republic of Liberia, which is responsible for the Liberian Centennial and Victory Exposition to be held in Monrovia, Liberia, July 26, 1947 through 1949. Mr. Robinson recently returned from Liberia where he was concerned with business pertaining to the exposition.

BABETTE STIEFEL spent several years with the Red Cross in army hospitals and got to know the GI very well. She doesn't "think people who are not closely associated with the returning veterans can ever begin to suspect the millions of problems of adjustment that face them." She was stationed for a while at the Kennedy General Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee. She now lives in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

JOHN A. DAVIS, who reviews "Negro Labor," page 216, was formerly director of the division of review and analysis of the Committe on Fair Employment Practice.

OUR AUGUST ISSUE will be our 35th annual education number, with pictures, news, and statistics about the American Negro in college, 1945-46. There will be pictures, reports, and resolutions of the NAACP convention. Also a two page picture layout of Negro GIs studying at the University of Michigan.

TENTATIVELY scheduled for forthcoming issues are:

- **★ Dr. Montague Cobb's testimony before the Senate on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill**
- **★ A photographic essay by Gordon Parks on Negroes in industry**
- **★ George Padmore on trusteeships as the new imperialism**

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College and School News

The regular meeting of all presidents of state teachers colleges in Pennsylvania was held at CHEYNEY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE May 10. This is the first time that all presidents have met at any one of the teachers' colleges for their regular professional and business session.

Dr. Edward Hólloway, formerly an instructor in the Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, has been appointed assistant instructor in cardiology at the UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Teachers interested in intercultural education will want the 1946 *Publications on Intercultural Education*, just off the press of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1697 Broadway, New York 19.

Negroes played an important part in the National Folk Festival, May 22-25, sponsored by WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY and the Cleveland, Ohio, Sesquicentennial Commission. Among the performers were 72-year-old William C. Handy, Joseph Matthews and his Sabath Glee Club, and dancers and musicians from Cleveland's famous Karamu social settlement.

According to an article by R. I. Brigham in the May *Survey Graphic*, it has cost the state of Missouri more than $500,000 to graduate one Negro student from the school of law and ten from the school of journalism at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY.

Armistead S. Pride, director of the Lincoln school of journalism, has been engaged by the Commitee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies to microfilm Negro newspapers and magazines published before 1900. The work has been made possible by a grant from the General Education Board.

James D. Parks, head of the art department, has recently authored two articles in popular art magazines. "An Experiment in Painting the Local Scene" was published in the February issue of *Design*, and "The Miniature Village" in the March-April issue of *Every Day*.

The university played host to two recent conferences: fifth annual meeting of the Missouri State Association of Negro Teachers on April 26; the fourth

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Industrial Arts and Industrial Vocational annual spring conference on May 3.

Annual religious emphasis week was observed April 15-18, with James E. Cook, executive secretary of the Pine street YMCA, St. Louis, as leader.

Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of Southern university, delivered the 80th annual commencement address June 3. There were seventy graduates representing all units of the university.

Summer-school session of the AMERICAN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY will be held June 3-July 12.

The seminary enrolled ninety-four students during the current scholastic year. The school also announces the enrollment of thirty-four veterans of the recent war and the construction of a new dormitory and a central heating plant.

Twenty-second commencement of the seminary was held May 27, at which time twelve students received the bachelor of theology degree and one the seminary diploma.

Dr. Clarence Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles; Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Cal.); Prof. Franklin Fearing, University of California; and Dr. Theodore Kreps, president, Stanford university, have been named to the advisory board of the CALIFORNIA COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY, first statewide organization in the nation covering the field of racial and intercultural relations.

Commencement exercises of ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE were held May 27, with Dr. Nathaniel P. Tillman, chairman of the department of English at Atlanta university, as principal speaker.

Closing lecture of the "citizenship-lecture series" at the college was delivered by attorney Belford G. Lawson of Washington, D. C. Other lecturers in the series were Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Hon. Homer S. Brown, Rev. George Kelsey, Dr. William Doaty, William Pickens, Wiley A. Hall, Ferdinand L. Rousseve, Bruce Thomas, Judge W. C. Hueston, James Farmer, and Dr. W. E. Anderson.

The annual statewide academic meet for high school seniors, under the sponsorship of the college, enrolled more than half the high schools of Alabama. Initiated in 1934, this meet has been conducted annually since that time.

Commencement exercises were held at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY June 11,

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with Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard, as the principal speaker.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, president, delivered three addresses recently while in the New York area in interest of the university. He appeared at the Ebenezer Baptist church, Rev. C. H. Shelton, pastor, New Brunswiek, N. J.; in New York City as guest speaker at the Baptist Ministers' Conference and at a joint testimonial dinner, at Abyssinian Baptist church, sponsored by the Jones-Jones alumni chapter of Virginia Union university and the New York ministers' conference.

Commencement exercises were held at WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE May 25, with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as guest speaker. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, was an honor guest of the college during commencement week.

An exhibition of paintings and ceramics by two seniors majoring in art, Mrs. Florence Woodson Calfee and Madge Katherine Dykes, was held at the college May 15-22. The exhibition included oils, watercolors, modeling, charcoal sketches, commercial posters, and costume designing.

The 1946 West Virginia Boys State was held at the college June 10-15. The WVBS is sponsored by the American Legion, department of West Virginia, under the supervision of T. C. Gregory, vice commander-at-large.

Three members of the college faculty earned doctorate degrees during the current school year. Fannin S. Belcher, Jr., professor and head of the department of drama and director of the college theatre, was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by Yale University. Prince Ahmed Williams, assistant professor of music, earned the degree of doctor of music from New York university. Dr. Williams' research was completed under terms of fellowship grants from the General Education Board. Gladyce H. Bradley, instructor in science in the teacher training high school, was awarded the degree of philosophy in the field of public health by the University of Michigan.

Dr. Belcher and Dr. Williams have already resumed their work in the college, and Dr. Bradley will return to the staff for the next regular college session in September.

Sixty-first annual commencement exercises were held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE June 3, with Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, state superintendent of public instruction of North Carolina, as the

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principal speaker. There were 163 senior candidates for the B. S. degree; 33 for the A. B.; and 14 graduate students for the M. S. degree.

The honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon attorney William Justin Carter of Harrisburg, Pa.; and an honorary doctor of science degree, upon Dr. Charles R. Drew, professor of surgery at the Howard university school of medicine. Deering Fauntleroy Payne, merchant and farmer of Campbell county, Va., was awarded the certificate of merit.

Annual six and nine weeks summer school terms at the college will run concurrently June 17-July 26 and June 17-August 16 respectively. Special features will be college workshops in education, health education, music education, natural resources, and the summer school for ministers. Of added interest will be the summer school audio-visual conferences to be held July 8-9.

Commencement activities were held at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE May 3-June 3. The baccalaureate sermon was delivered by Rev. Cedric E. Mills, rector St. James Episcopal church, Baltimore, on June 2. The Commencement speaker was Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard, on June 3.

Fifty-fourth annual commencement exercises were held at FLORIDA NORMAL & INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE May 31, with the main address being delivered by Dr. John M. Ellison, president of Virginia Union university.

On May 3-4 the college was host to the eleventh annual musical festival.

The ten-week summer school session, divided into two terms of five weeks each, began June 3 and will end July 8. Second term begins July 9 and ends August 13.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE has begun a series of Sunday morning broadcasts from McMillan chapel under the direction of the Knoxville college religious committee. General aim of the program is to help further a better understanding between the races.

Don R. Bonaparte, 1940 graduate of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, was recently promoted to

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the position of assistant general housing manager for the Chicago, Ill., housing authority.

Alfred Detroy Brooks is the third handicapped student to be placed by the school. A February graduate, Mr. Brooks is now employed as a senior teacher in the social science division of the council for the blind in Florida.

Summer sessions of the school have been divided into two sessions. The first session began June 10 and will end July 13; the second, July 15 through August 17.

Fifteenth annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, ceramics, and crafts by students of Spelman, Morehouse, Clark, and ATLANTA UNIVERSITY were open to the public in the exhibition gallery of the university library May 19-June 2.

Seventy-seventh commencement exercises at the university were held June 3, with the Right Reverend John Moore Walker, Bishop of Atlanta as principal speaker. Dr. Vernon Johns, distinguished religious leader and educator of Farmville, Virginia, was speaker at the combined baccalaureate services for the graduating classes of the university system on June 2.

More than eighty educators are serving on the visiting faculty of the summer school, which began June 10. Among the visiting staff are Dr. Anne M. Cooke of Howard; Arthur C. Lamb; Johnson C. Smith; Dr. T. A. Daley, Dillard; Dr. Robert L. Gill, Morgan; Dr. J. Welfred Holmes, Winston-Salem Teachers college; Dr. Kelso B. Harris, Wiley; Dr. Jitsuichi Masuoka, Fisk; Samuel W. Williams, Morehouse; and Vernon Winslow, Dillard.

Cooperating in this fourteenth combined summer program are Atlanta university, Morehouse, Spelman, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Clark, Morris Brown, and Gammon Theological Seminary. John P. Whittaker, registrar of Atlanta university and Morehouse, serves as director.

Dr. John W. Davis, president of West Virginia State, delivered the 79th Commencement address at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE on June 4.

Dr. Percy L. Julian, director of research for John Glidden and Co., Chicago, delivered the 72nd annual commencement address at FISK UNIVERSITY on May 27. The baccalaureate sermon was preached by retiring president Dr. Thomas E. Jones on May 26.

Newly elected president of the general alumni association of the college is James E. Stamps, of the class of 1911, an insurance executive in Chicago.

Fisk will receive twenty-seven housing units from the Federal Public Housing Authority, according to John P. Broome, regional director of FPHA.

A course in aeronautical training for ex-GIs, in conjunction with the summer school, has been approved by the division of veterans' education of the Tennessee State Department of Education. Veterans began training on June 10 at the new municipal airport at the end of Ninth avenue north, in Nashville. Five courses are to be offered: single engine rating, four weeks; instrument, six weeks; instructor, six weeks; private, eight weeks; and commercial, thirty-six weeks. This new facility for veterans is part of Fisk's pioneering in the field of aviation education.

Annual interdenominational ministers' institute was held at Fisk June 3-7. Sponsored annually for the past nineteen years by the Fisk department of religion, the institute presented a varied course of study, giving special attention to the development of both urban and rural church programs.

Gloria Grant, university student, has recently had a short story, "Atlanta, U. S. A.", accepted for publication in *Common Ground*.

The university summer session will be held June 10-July 19. Dr. George N. Redd is director of the six weeks summer program.

The National Federation of Catholic College Students, eastern regional unit, announces result of its first scholarship contest of May, 1946. The scholarship was won by Joseph Ray Nearon of the MANHATTAN COLLEGE PREPARATORY SCHOOL, New York City. The following students won honorable mention: Mary B. Alexander, Cathedral high school, Rita S. Isaac, Cathedral high, Edwin A. Peets, Cardinal Hayes high, all of New York City; Marjorie Hutchings, James Madison high, and Jacqueline G. Wilson, Bishop McDonnell high, of Brooklyn.

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of SHAW UNIVERSITY, has announced the addition of H. K. ("Brutus") Wilson to the staff of the university's physical education department. Mr. Wilson will serve as head coach of major collegiate sports and as associate in the physical education department. He comes to Shaw with a brilliant record as athletic coach.

Registration for the first six weeks of the university summer school was held June 5. First period of the summer school will run from June 5 to July 12; second period, from July 15 to August 20. The school is administered by Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president, and Dr. Nelson H. Harris, director.

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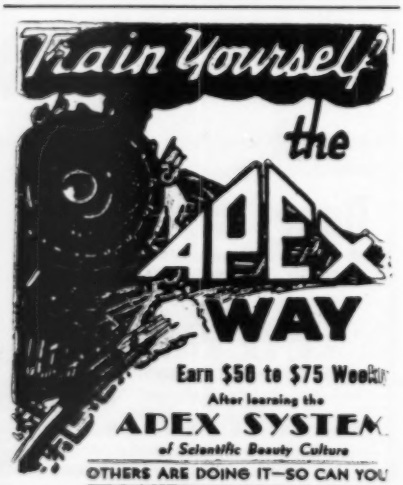

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Editorials

116,000 Georgia Registrants

AS this is written, slightly more than 116,000 Negro citizens of Georgia are reported as having registered to vote in the Democratic primary election July 17. It is expected that several thousand more will have registered by the time the books close July 5.

This information, tucked away in an inconspicuous news story in the daily papers, records an American revolution. It is probably the most important step toward erasing racial inequalities that has been taken since Emancipation. It marks the beginning of a new day for the Negro, for the South, and for the nation.

Eugene Talmadge campaigns this year on a platform of race hate. The Ku Klux Klan has renewed its activities with the avowed principal purpose of maintaining white supremacy. But these shall be swept away in a few brief years before the thousands of new white and Negro voters in the South. After bitter election contests and education in between elections, the O'Daniels, Rankins, Bilbos, Coxes, Eastlands, Georges, and McClellands will be no more. More truly representative spokesmen will replace them in Congress.

In home areas, can one imagine a lynching taking place in a county where the sheriff knows there are, say 2,000 registered Negro voters? A governor who knows there are 150,000 to 250,000 registered Negro voters in the state will see that his legislature and his state board of education are fair in their distribution of school funds.

And so it will go in all matters affecting the welfare of citizens. It will not happen overnight, nor in this one election. The Negroes and the whites will make mistakes, and correction of abuses will be delayed, but the handwriting is on the wall: a new day is here for American democracy.

More and more it becomes apparent that the victory of NAACP lawyers in the Texas Primary case in the U. S. Supreme Court in 1944 was a giant milestone in the progress of Negro Americans toward full citizenship.

The Railroad Brotherhoods

EXCEPT for A. Philip Randolph and one or two others, practically no one spoke out during the brief railroad strike to call attention to the vicious lily-white policy of the brotherhoods that went on strike. It was less than two years ago that an elaborate FEPC hearing in Washington brought to official public notice the policies which are deliberately designed to eliminate the few Negroes remaining as firemen on locomotives, and to guarantee that no more will be employed.

Both the brotherhoods and the Southern railroads with which they signed contracts admitted freely and brazenly that the contracts had as one objective the driving of Negroes from railroad employment. "Promotable men," according to the contract, meant white men. It has also been revealed that the Brotherhoods bar Negro firemen—in most sections of the country—from Diesel engines, and from engines with automatic stokers. In many instances their seniority rights are ignored and junior whites are given preferred runs.

In the recent strike controversy, Randolph charged in a telegram to Mr. Truman that one of the forty-five changes in rules demanded by the Brotherhoods would have meant the elimination of Negroes as train porters. Over a long period of years the Brotherhoods have been campaigning for a so-called "full crew" law, which, among other things, would throw hundreds of Negro train porters who now act as front end brakemen out of work.

Finally, in this case of the Negro against the Brotherhoods, there are the murders of Negro firemen on the Illinois Central and Mississippi and Yazoo Valley railroads during the early thirties. Several of these men were shot dead in cold blood as they manipulated water spouts from tanks to their engines. These murders remain a mystery, and the Brotherhood did nothing of consequence to run down the killers of its members.

So, when Messrs. Whitney and Johnston sound off, seeking the sympathy and support of the public, Negro Americans may be pardoned if they seem a bit cool. Negroes are not anti-labor. In the strikes of the auto, steel, packinghouse, electrical, and tobacco workers, Negroes were in there fighting shoulder to shoulder with their white fellow workers. In the Brotherhoods the few dark members are treated as "untouchables" and their days are numbered. We do not hold with Mr. Truman on his draft-strikers remedy, but that does not mean that we hold with the lily-white Brotherhood policy.

Georgia and the Klan

THE nation is being treated to a refreshing sight with the state of Georgia, rather than the state of Vermont or Idaho, fighting the revival of the infamous Ku Klux Klan. To his other progressive activities Governor Ellis Arnall has added this official move against the Kluxers. Already his special prosecutor has revealed that 38 members of the Atlanta police force attended a recent Klan meeting. Also that one Negro was stabbed to death and a Negro veteran severely beaten by Klan members.

Our guess is that the Klan will grow for a brief time and die. There will be more condemnation and prosecution than there was after the last war, but the doom of the Klan lies in the fact that the Negro, organized labor, and the world are much more than 25 years ahead of 1920. The Klan is too stupid and too late to accomplish its announced purpose.

Beginning of the End

THE U. S. Supreme Court opinion in the Irene Morgan case, outlawing by a vote of 6 to 1 segregation of passengers on interstate buses, marks the beginning of the end of Jim Crow transportation in this country. There will be resistance by whites in many areas. There will be demogogic statements by politicians and rabble-rousers. There will be timidity among many Negroes. Custom and habit, backed by state laws, have strongly conditioned both whites and black so that the overturn will not be sudden.

But it will come, spreading from Virginia (where there is considerable supporting opinion), North Carolina, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. North Carolina is liberal and amenable to change; Louisville has never had racial segregation on its city transportation; and the students at Oklahoma Aggie College debated only in April the abolition of both Jim Crow schools and transportation. And Negroes vote in goodly numbers in all these states.

It seems to be agreed that the railroad Jim Crow car for interstate passengers cannot hold up long in the face of this bus case opinion. In a not too distant day—thanks to the NAACP and its attorneys—Negro Americans will be rid of the most obnoxious (if not the most damaging) mark of second class citizenship.

The Klan's "Revolution of the Right"

By Harold Preece

THE Fiery Cross of the Ku Klux Klan, flaming like a Georgia lynch pyre, burns again on top of Stone Mountain near Atlanta. Throughout that restless awakening land which the minstrel impresarios christened Dixie, sharp-tongued emissaries of Nat Forrest's old hoodlum outfit start building hard-slugging storm trooper units to uphold what elder statesmen like Bilbo call "white supremacy." One such unit, led by Exalted Cyclops Rev. Frank Ziegler, charges into the Chattanooga city hall to demand reinstatement of a former city commissioner who resigned his job to enter the army. The word is whispered around the Tennessee city that "the war has made the niggers too sassy and that they'd better be thinking about getting back to the cotton patch in a hurry so that white men who fought for their country can have jobs. And, months before the post-war policy of the Klan, which has now succeeded the fallen Nazi Party, as the leading organization of the still-flourishing fascist internationale, has been stated by Tennessee Kleagle Jesse B. Stoner, in Chattanooga.

The war is still on and a young employee of the local Coca Cola plant by the name of Charles Bunch is being put through the Klan initiation ritual in the Woodmen of the World Hall at 916½ Market Street. "Mr. Bunch is going into the army soon," Stoner says as the new recruit stands up to repeat the oath which pledges him to fight for "white supremacy," "racial segregation," and "pure white womanhood." The Kleagle looks over the ghouls sitting in the tightly-guarded conclave and continues:

"Mr. Bunch is going into the Army soon. But he'll be learning to fight, and we can use him against the niggers when he gets back. All over the country, Klansmen are going into the Army and we'll use them when they get out."

This may be a startling statement to everyday Americans who pay their taxes and grocery bills and generally get along with their neighbors under that working code of mutual tolerance which most of us take for granted. But every man, sitting in that hall, located

"The Klan is determined to hold Dixie for fascism by uniting all fascists. It believes that all fifth-column groups are so many paths to the Fiery Cross of Stone Mountain," says this author

Acme

White-robed Klansmen in the "Grapes of Wrath" country, San Joaquin Valley, Calif.

ironically enough over a Jewish clothing store, has also heard Stoner boast that the Klan will "reach its peak" when discharged veterans and unemployed ex-war workers find themselves without funds and without jobs.

"The conflict," Stoner has said, according to a sworn affidavit in my files, "will come when Negroes who have gotten jobs because of the war and the FEPC won't give up those jobs."

Moreover, the South's Jewish minority, which has largely escaped oppression in the past because the Negro has been a handier victim, can look forward to the same treatment that his black neighbor is scheduled to receive during the post-war period. For the Klan credo, expressed by Georgia born Kleagle Stoner, is that "Anti-semitism and white supremacy go hand in hand. . . ."

"A politician who doesn't believe in white supremacy can't get very far now. Anti-semitism is stronger than ever before. Since the war, thousands of small business men have failed. That has helped the Jew." And a few months later, Stoner is circulating a petition among thousands of conservative, Scotch-Irish Protestant mountaineers, moved down from the hills to take jobs in Chattanooga's war industries, to disfranchise and deport all Americans of the Jewish faith.

Meanwhile, with the war at a close, with reconversion snagged because of the unwillingness of industrialists to cooperate with organized labor, thousands of Southerners who have been trained as storm troopers by the Klan or one of its numerous "front" organizations, drift back to Dixie and await the signals for bloody race riots calculated to turn this country into a second Spain.

A Hitler Needed

"We need a Hitler in this country to clean out the kikes and niggers," my old neighbor, Ross Overton, from Leander, Texas, told me when he returned from a ninety-dollar a week job at Ford's Willow Run plant in Ypsilanti to a fifty-dollar a month and board job at the state insane asylum in Austin. "A damn black nigger had the nerve to run for the city council in Ypslanti and, by God, the CIO elected him to make laws for white Americans. But, boy, old Henry Ford had the last word. He just closed down that plant and, if the white people got out of their jobs, the bastard niggers did too. But if it hadn't been for the niggers and the CIO, I'd a been workin' up there yet an' drawin' myself good money."

I've pulled many a perch out of Sandy Creek with Ross Overton on many a day when it's too hot to do anything but fish in Texas. I was rather put out by all this as I was by his next statement: "You've picked up a lot of funny ideas that don't go in the South and won't go in the North before very long," he continued. "I seen that the North was gonna stop coddlin' niggers when I saw 'em bein' knocked down in Detroit like we knock 'em down in

Texas when they had that big riot two years ago. You're on the nigger side now an' I know it. But you'd better cross over to yore own side which is the white side if you wanta keep on livin' to see yore boy grow up."

I saw on his face the same look which Jews, slated to be martyred by Hitler, must have seen on the faces of those merciless hooligans who started out by smashing Jewish stores and ended up by taking control of a nation which, in the duality of the Western soul, could produce both an Einstein and a Goebbels.

"We're gonna build a new kind o' country," said Ross Overton who had voted like most of the discontented, uneducated Texas common folk for Pappy O'Daniel when the flour peddler had fiddled his way into office in 1938. "We're gonna have that new kind o' country so that hundred per cent Americans like me an' like yore kinfolks can have a dog's chance to get by without the niggers takin' all the jobs an' the Jews, lined up with the CIO an' the Com-mu-nists takin' all the money. We're gonna build a hundred per cent white white American party and a hundred per cent white vet's outfit, hundred per cent white American unions, an', maybe a hundred per cent white American church where the preachers preach the Bible an' not com-mu-nism."

That, I thought, is the bitter fruit of what was sown in the little ghettos of Southerners, who left off cotton chopping in Alabama and cedar chopping in Texas to weld and rivet and hate in Detroit as well as other northern cities during the war. In after years, historians may record that the mass southern migration to the northern industrial centers may have been the phenomenon that not only saved fascism in the world but also brought fascism to the United States—although the trend toward fascism is a driving imperative and not simply a temporary aberration, of all monopoly capitalist countries.

By and large, so I have learned from a study of American fascist groups and their personnel made in conjunction with the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, white Southerners remained white Southerners when a world-shaking change jerked them up from Main Street or Coffee Cove and transplanted them to Woodward avenue in Detroit or Michigan boulevard in Chicago. Alone of all the liberal pro-labor groups operating in the North, the Peoples Institute understood the special background of the Southern migrants and tried to persuade other organizations to develop special program of orientation and democratic education for them. But in the same fashion as to the too-immaculate and too-politely middle class Southern liberal organizations, the democratic groups of the North failed to see the importance of getting down to the cultural level of people whose thinking had been influenced by the demagogue, speaking in chummy, homey folk talk on the courthouse lawn and glorifying "Southern womanhood" bent and broken from carrying too many sacks of cotton and carrying too many babies.

> There has been a rescrudescence of Klan activities in the South and other states. On May 9 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, the KKK initiated 277 new members in the glow of five fiery crosses. This is the first public demonstration of the Klan since Pearl Harbor. In 1944 the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., suspended activities because of unpaid federal taxes for the years 1921 through 1924, and for 1946, amounting to more than a half million dollars.
>
> New incorporation papers were filed with the Georgia secretary of state on March 21. But on May 30 governor Ellis Arnall ordered the state's legal department to bring quo warranto (a writ requiring one to show by what right he exercises an office, franchise, etc.) proceedings against the Klan in order to revoke its charter. If this fails, the governor says he will call an extraordinary session of the legislature to enact laws to prohibit its activities.
>
> Grand Dragon Dr. Samuel Green vociferates: "We're particular who we let in. The Klan is for native-born white, gentile, Protestant Americans. Our first aim is to develop character, our second to promote Klannishness, the third to protect the home and chastity of white womanhood, and the fourth is to exemplify pure patriotism to America and the Constitution."

Klan Industrial Cells

But the men who organized secret Klan "industrial cells" in the United Automobile Workers and other CIO unions understood both the folk culture of the Southerner and his bewilderment in a huge industrial community where food and talk and habits were different from what a man knew in Clearwater county. Southerners, mustered into those cells built on the same model as the Nazi secret cliques which sabotaged unions in pre-Hitler Germany, have since been trained to serve as organizers of the "Christian Action Committees" which the Klan intends to establish as the basic units of its coming mass fascist political party. These committees, organized on an experimental basis by ex-Klan lecturer Rev. J. Walter Gibson in Indiana during the 1944 presidential campaign, will soon be set up in white Protestant communities throughout the South. They will circulate tons of anti-semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Runsian propaganda in fascism's final all-out effort to hold back a new world of orderly, sane cooperation between men and between nations.

There will be a revolution of the Left or of the Right after the war," Kleagle Stoner said in Chattanooga last year. "I favor the Right, I want the Ku Klux Klan to win that revolution."

There is no revolution of what is too loosely called "the Left"—meaning all of the liberal, humane forces in this country—against the orderly, time-honored processes of American democracy, and none is in sight. There is very definitely a revolution of the Right—the retrogressive, anti-human and profoundly anti-Christian forces financed and encouraged by Big Business—fermenting in our country. Its shape has become so apparent that Postmaster General Frank Hannegan recently called attention to the ever-present fascist danger that threatens this democracy. The rehearsal place for that revolution is the South, conditioned by human slavery to a perpetual semi-fascism with a grandiose *Herrenvolk* ideology of "we're better than niggers." Every tactic that fascism plans to use throughout the country in these troubled years ahead is being first tested in this section where Hitler sent secret agents, back in the 20's, to study the racial techniques of racial oppression used by the Klan.

Now a baby can be easily persuaded to swallow a pill if it is wrapped in sugar. The apostles of the pagan cult which is fascism feel that unsophisticated southern whites can be easily induced to swallow their poison if it is wrapped up in distorted texts from that one Book known and accepted by the great mass of our people—the Bible.

"Ten million more Jews" are doomed to die before the Second Coming of Christ, Rev. A. A. Smith, pastor of the Baptist Gospel Center in Tampa, Florida, tells an audience of poor whites who sit listening to him with Bibles in their hands. All but a "remnant" of the Jews are doomed because they have "substituted atheism, evolution, and materialism" for "the worship of God." "No Western nation wants the Jews and no Western nation can assimilate them." That same night, the radio announces that a main leader of the Southern Democratic bloc, Senator Josiah Bailey of North Carolina, has written a letter to President Truman opposing American participation with Britain to repatriate a hundred thousand stricken European Jews in the old homeland of Palestine.

Brother Smith advertises in his sermons, a new organization, "the Christian Aviators" which is being given

(*Continued on page 219*)

An African Republic Approaches its Centennial

By Hilyard R. Robinson

A report on Liberia's centennial victory exposition to be held in Monrovia, 1947-1949, with a brief sketch of the founding of the Republic of Liberia

FEW governments have achieved an uninterrupted near-century of existence as a republic; such, however, is the record of the West African Republic of Liberia.[1]

Apparently recognizing this most singular position of his country, President William V. S. Tubman, of Liberia, recently declared, "One hundred years of national sovereignty is an event which the Government and people of Liberia will observe and celebrate with just and modest pride." In these words President Tubman introduced the Liberian Centennial and Victory Exposition now being planned by Liberia as a major event in its Centenary to be observed July 26, 1947.

Devoted to the theme, *Liberia in the World at Peace,* this International Exposition—to be held in the capital city of Monrovia, 1947-1949—will present to the world a unified and comprehensive demonstration of Liberia's planning for its improved social and economic development and to focus attention upon that nation's program to link itself with other peoples in achieving a sustained world peace based on cooperation, mutual understanding and progressive enterprise.

Members of the world family of nations in the Americas, Europe, Asia and Africa have been invited to join Liberia in the celebration of its century of nationhood. Many of these nations will participate in the Exposition. Cooperating foreign governments will contribute exhibits to be housed in buildings especially designed for effectve display.

In accord with the theme of the Exposition major Liberian exhibits will present agriculture, transportation and communications, industrial arts and handicrafts, commercial and industrial concessions. Special attention will be given by the Government to exhibits covering items of historic and commemorative interest together with economic and social programs in the field of health, education and town planning. Native art in African culture, viewed together with its foreign extensions, will vie with entertainment best described as uniquely African.

Liberian CC Photo

President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, inaugurated January, 1944, to serve eight-year term ending 1952.

The responsibility for the development and promotion of the Centennial and Victory Exposition rests in the "Liberian Centennial Commission" appointed by the President of the Republic. Officers of the Commission are Dr. G. W. Gibson, former Liberian Secretary of Public Instruction, Commissioner; Dixon B. Brown, Deputy Commissioner; Hilyard R. Robinson, architect and city planner, Technical Director; and Joseph F. Dennis, Secretary. Committees of prominent Liberians and a national advisory body complete the administration of the Commission.

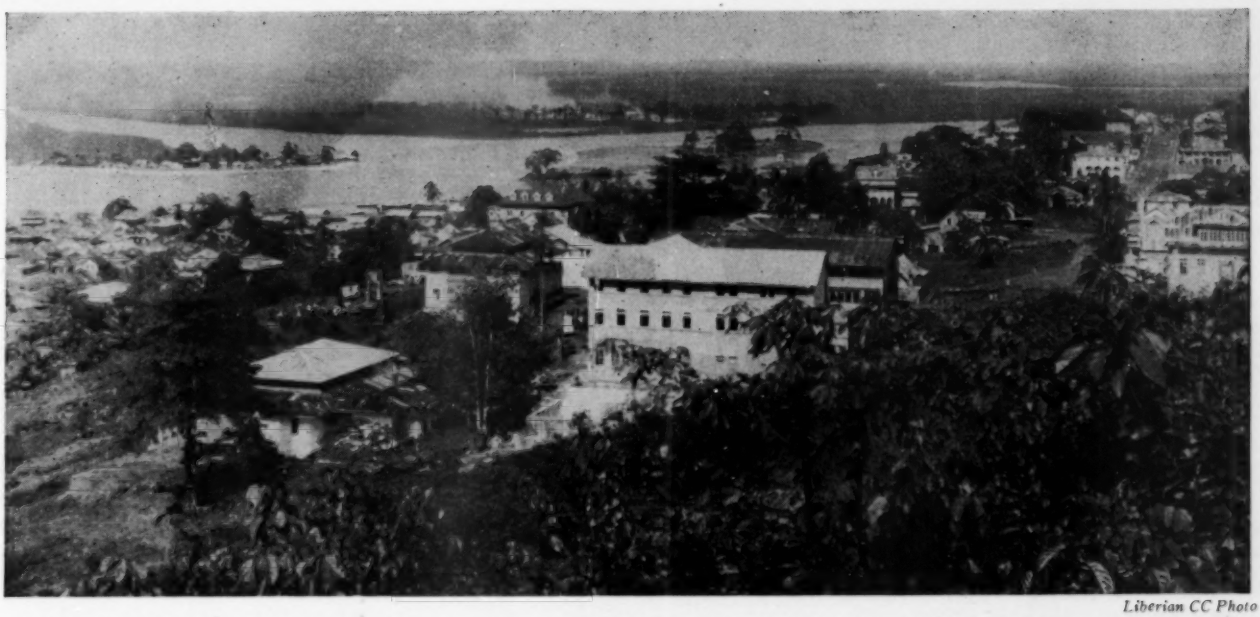
Liberian Centennial

Commenting on the Centennial of the Republic of Liberia, President Tubman recently declared, "We shall jubilently celebrate our Centenary first: in grateful recognition and acknowledgement of the countless blessings vouchsafed unto us as a government and people by deity, whose sustaining and all protecting might has supported our efforts to maintain our national standard at full staff amidst terrible odds and vicissitudes; secondly, with full realization and complete agreement with the only axiom that serves as the mighty bulwarks of Democracy: *the Independence of nations as of individuals is essential to continued peaceful and resourceful existence.* It will be most gratifying to have, along with others, the people of the United States of America whence the Pioneers of Liberia came to participate with us in the celebration of our Centennial."

A review of the history of Liberia brings into sharp focus the close relationship that has existed between the United States and this small West African Republic. It is noteworthy that similar moral forces form the bedrock for the foundation of both the United States and Liberia—each being products of a people's search for freedom, though encouraged and sustained by quite divergent circumstances.

The United States and the Republic of Liberia, together with England, have provided a uniquely linked extension of English speaking people into the continents of Europe, North America and Africa. The good that has slowly filtered through the tortured but tough historic roots of these nations—the great and the small—helps build, in this internationally sensitive postwar era, a

[1] Located on the West African coast southeast of British Sierra Leone, west of the French Ivory Coast and south of French Guinea, Liberia covers an area of about 43,000 square miles (considerably larger than the combined areas of Holland and Belgium), and extends inland 200 miles with a 350-mile coast line on the Atlantic Ocean. Her population of approximately 2,500,000 Negroes is divided politically into three large provinces, five counties and one territory.



Liberian CC Photo

Water front view of Monrovia taken just prior to evacuation of the area for the port development currently under construction. The new harbor is to be located on Bushrod Island across the Mesurado river from the city and will be connected to the capital by bridge. A small portion of Bushrod Island may be seen at the extreme left of photo, with historic providence Island to the right completely surrounded by water. At the right is seen the city's main street on which are situated several of the buildings which comprise Liberia's current government center. The city of Monrovia was named in 1824 for President James Monroe of the United States.

world unity based on mutual cooperation and respect gained from enlightened understanding. The spark of political kinship between Liberia and the United States has never glowed brighter, over the near century span, than today.

Almost every school child in the United States knows the story of the Pilgrim Fathers who in 1620 anchored the "Mayflower" off the New England Plymouth Rock, thus ending the first leg of their search for religious freedom. Few school children know, however, of the black Pilgrim Fathers who, two hundred years later, sailed aboard the "Elizabeth" from America to West Africa in search of a freedom, the meaning of which we today find described in the universally broadcast "four freedoms."

Birth of a Nation

Here is a thumb-nail sketch of the birth of an African nation whose early settlers were led by eighty-eight inspired American Negro emigrants who had quit the temperate Eastern Coast of the United States in the early 19th century. This new African republic followed the usual evolutionary steps noted in the growth of many a pioneer nation. First, there was the period of colonization, followed by the era of the commonwealth, which was dramatically ended when the people declared themselves a free and independent nation.

Impetus for the founding of a West African home for freed Negroes may have had its inception as early as 1773 when Dr. Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, suggested the colonization of freed persons of color in Africa. By December, 1816, when American citizens Henry Clay, Elijah Caldwell and Robert Finley assembled a group in Washington, D. C., to discuss plans for the colonization of freed persons of African descent, "by their consent," public opinion was quite fertile for such a venture. The "abolition movement" had gained considerable popularity in the northern United States and was to reach a new high in 1821 when Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker who adopted Negro emancipation as his life mission, suggested the establishment of colonies of freed slaves in Haiti and started a supporting weekly periodical under the title, *Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

Consequently, the proponents of colonization experienced little difficulty in organizing the American Colonization Society in January, 1817, with, among other important functionnaires, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, a nephew of George Washington, as president; Robert Finley, a former president of the University of Georgia, and Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner," vice presidents; and Elijah Caldwell, clerk of the United States Supreme Court, secretary. In the first three-quarters of a century of the Society's stimulated activity, approximately three hundred auxiliary societies were organized throughout the United States, with about one hundred and fifty of the societies being located in southern and border states.

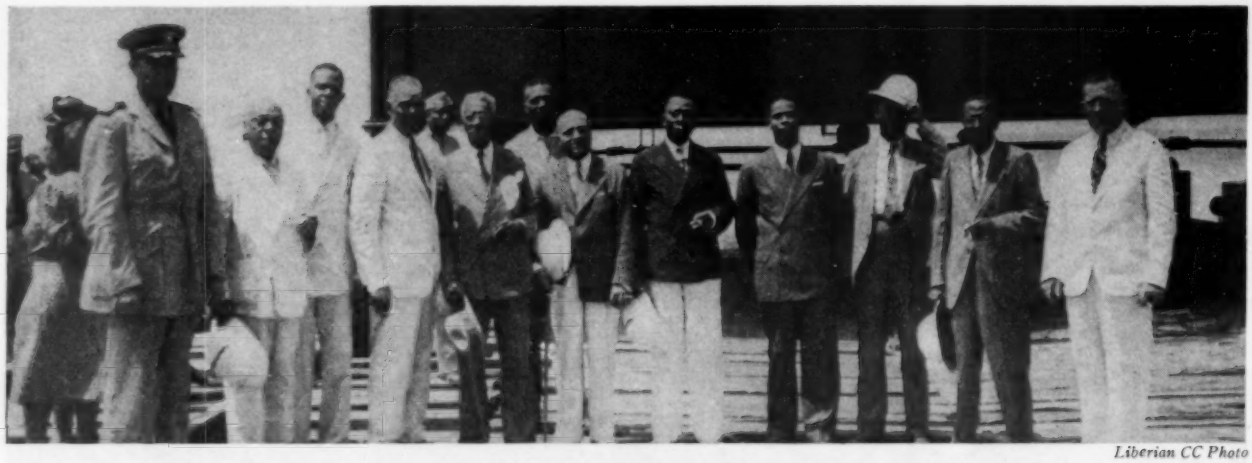
The "Who's Who" character of the official membership roster of the American Colonization Society, together with the nationally broad coverage of its auxiliary branches hardly invites question as to the popularity in the United States of that Society's colonization program. Motives for support, however, were not all esesntially humanitarian.

Number of Emigrants

According to tabulations compiled from American Colonization Society *Annual Reports,* during the period 1820 through 1900, the Society and its affiliated auxiliaries sponsored the emigration of slightly over 15,000 persons to Liberia from thirty-two states, the District of Columbia, and British Barbados. The largest annual emigration figure recorded by the Society was for the year 1832 when it sponsored the emigration of 796 persons to Liberia.

To implement early Afro-American colonization in West Africa, the American Colonization Society[2] was made the

[2] The Washington and New York branches of the American Colonization Society still maintain a cooperative interest in Liberia through support given to an educational project in that country.



Liberian CC Photo

On the occasion of the opening of the bridge connecting the port facilities on Bushrod Island to the mainland, President William V. S. Tubman and officials of his government participated in ceremonies sponsored by his administration and officials of the U. S. government. President Tubman is shown eighth from left with vice-president C. L. Simpson at Tubman's lèft. On extreme left is Commander Trimble, port construction officer, U. S. Navy. Vice-president McMinimer of the Raymond Concrete Pile Company, contractor for the port, is shown at extreme right. The harbor is being constructed under the supervision of the U. S. Navy.

quasi-official and principal instrument. However, before the American Colonization Society completed plans for founding a colony in Africa, a zealous American black man of means, Paul Cuffe succeeded in organizing a group of colonists and set sail for West Africa where they finally established homes in Sierra Leone.

In 1820 the first American Colonization Society–sponsored emigrants left the United States for Sierra Leone. Dissatisfied with the site, the small body of pioneers and their Colonization Society agents sailed south to Sherbro Island, where they made further attempt to settle. At Sherbro, twenty-two members of the party, including all white persons of the group, of whom three were Colonization agents, died of fever.

Discouraged, the remaining settlers led by Negroes, Daniel Coker and Elijah Johnson–the latter a veteran of America's War of 1812, returned to Sierra Leone. Late in 1821 these colonists were joined by Eli Ayers, American Colonization Society agent, and Lt. R. F. Stockton, who formed an expedition which traveled south along the coast of Africa and acquired land contingent to the present city of Monrovia on Cape Montserrado. This purchase was negotiated with native Kings Peter, George, Yoda and Long Peter of the Dey Tribes, and included a strip of coastal land extending 130 miles along the sea and forty miles inland.

Early in January, 1822, the settlers arrived at the site of their new colony where they attempted settlement on Bushrod Island, a small island just off the Cape. Although this territory had been "legally" acquired from the "lords of the land," the newcomers were attacked by hostile natives and driven to nearby Providence Island where they were given refuge by John Mill, a mulatto English trader, who operated along the West African Coast, Providence Island was so named because the colonists were confident that here providence had designated a spot where they would be "free to serve God as they chose and would no longer suffer at the hands of oppressors." It was here that Elijah Johnson, determined to establish a new home, voiced his opposition to the retreat by his now famous statement: "Two long years have I sought a home; here I have found one; here will I remain." This persistence has characterized the determined will to survive of this lone small West African Republic.

When Colonization Society Agents departed for America, Johnson took over leadership of the colony and remained in that capacity until the arrival of another agent, Jehudi Ashmun, in August, 1822. Ashmun became truly a great leader–sympathetic, resourceful and energetic to the extreme who after losing his wife through "the fever" finally exhausted himself in behalf of the colony and cause in which he so completely believed. Should an individual be nominated as founder of the Liberian Commonwealth, Ashmun would rate high, if not on top. During the eight months prior to Ashmun's arrival, the settlers fought off hostile natives, moved to the mainland, and started the settlement which is now Monrovia.

While the settlers, under the leadership of Ashmun and Johnson worked and fought to survive on the difficult West African coast, the American Colonization Society continued to promote and expand itself as an instrumentality for colonization and sent more emigrants overseas. The national organization met each year in Washington to receive reports of the progress of its settlement and project plans for the colony's further development.

When the Society assembled on February 20, 1824, in the Supreme Court room of the Capitol Building at Washington, General Robert Harper of Maryland, addressing the body advised it that its settlement as of that date had no name. "In reflecting upon this circumstance," announced General Harper, "I have thought of a name that is different, short, familiar and expresses the true object and nature of the establishment. I propose to call the colony *Liberia*, because it denotes a settlement of persons made free." So, the nameless piece of territory became *Liberia*, symbolizing freedom. And since President Monroe had been instrumental in encouraging the colonization movement, the principal city of the colony was named *Monrovia* in his honor. It is now a city of about 10,000 inhabitants.

New Constitution

In 1838 the American Colonization Society drew up a new constitution for Liberia, which gave commonwealth status to the colony, thus enabling its people to gain experience in organized representative government. Later a

(*Continued on page 222*)

Look Away, Dixie Land

By Babette Stiefel

Josh Tatum returns to Sterrit's hollow, Florida, and to the dilemmas, hopes, dreams, and disappointments which slash into the lives of returning GIs

HE sifted the sand slowly through his fingers, thinking. All the weary months before it had been frozen earth of winter and thick oozing mud of spring, but never sand. And now it slid between his lean fingers in running streams. The smell of pine needles burning in the hot sun, the horizon knotted with slumps of palmettos and scrub pine, the dizzy stretch of electric blue sky, all triumphant for him. He was home, home where he belonged. Black man, he thought, you've come a long way. You've seen men's insides spewed out beside you as you lay pressed to the earth for safety. You've heard men die, their voices strange hurt shouts against the seeking wrath of destiny. You have seen cities demolished, collapsing to the ground the way this sand slides from palm to palm in dusty spatter. You have seen intense emotions, anger, hate, fear and wild shrieks of laughter splitting the night and all its weariness. You have sobbed and despaired and waited. And now, black man, now you are home.

A feeling of strangeness encircled him for a minute in its web as he encountered his first misgivings, for, with the wonder of being home, was a nameless fear. How would it be? It was not just seeking old places and old faces, Uncle John, Beccie and Old Suggs. Beccie! His good wife. There was reassurance. Beccie had soft brown eyes, soft as petals of a flower. She was warm and kind, and, though he suspected she was puzzled by him, he felt, no matter how he had changed, in time she would get to understand. A flood of tenderness possessed him momentarily. He could not be completely alone, even in all the strangeness. But what of the rest? He remebered their simplicty and his own naïveté. Naïveté? God, the way he had come and all the hours of cruel new wisdom burning in him. Before, his way had been the way of his poultry farm, the sweet shy morning hours, the heaviness of the dew and the suspended heat of midday, the pointed shadows of evening and finally the musky smell of approaching dark. The land, indifferent, callous, a discolored green, demanding a wooing of the men who worked it, just as a woman.

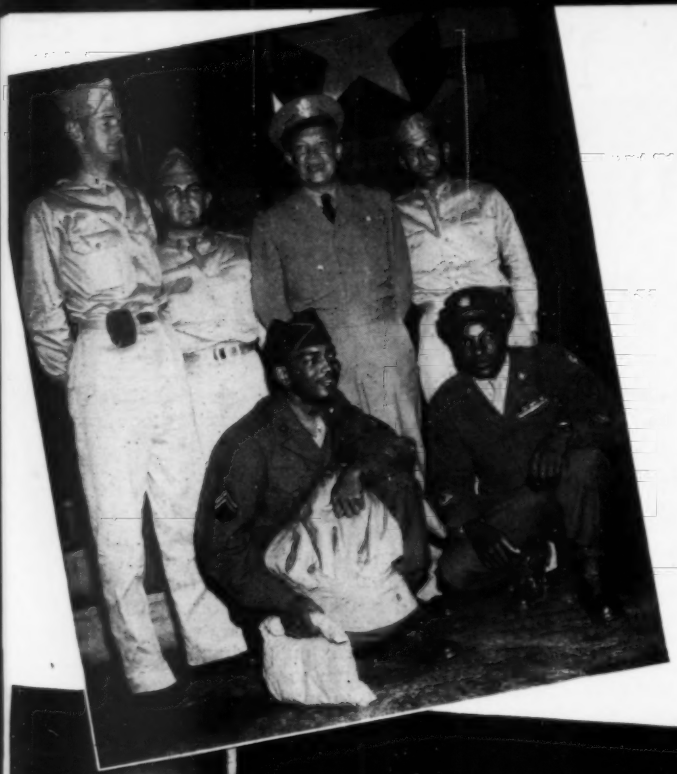
The sand! The sand sifted in ragged waves down to the edge of the road. And he remembered other roads. Roads as noisy as this was quiet. Roads that imperiled a man's life and offered him nothing but fear and sometimes torture. "There's a long road awinding"—quivering camp fires, forced jocularity, and then the beginning of the interminable noise. . . . And the long trail wound its way into the lives of all soldiers everywhere who had been overseas and had come home, wound its way into the heart of this slim, thoughtful black man as well. The haze of all his days of battle was not so thick that gaunt images of the past could not sift through to this, his first day at home. And it found him, no longer a black man scuffling through Florida sand, no longer a black man urging muscles under a hot sun through the long week, no longer the black man ill at ease in white shirt and neatly pressed trousers, rocking to the rhythm of church songs on Sundays. Indeed, no longer a black man at all! Having fought and bled, his blood as red as white man's, his heart as vulnerable, his hand as hard, he suddenly felt a salvation in battle that had taught him his freedom. Hard earned, precarious, the beginnings of his battle in France promised him even then another battle when he returned. How could he find his place with his people and with those who would not recognize him. They could not see the changes in his mind. To them he was the same. Black man! Slim, straight-backed, easy gaited black man. "Oh Joshua fit the battle of Jericho, Jericho, Jericho and the walls come tumblin' down." Would all the hard wrought stones of his new way crumble down upon him? Would those efforts of his, in the icy nights when sleep and warmth were unknown, to put together the weird pieces of this new puzzle have been futile after all? Could he wage a personal war with his friends and enemies until they recognized this new understanding of himself?

Soon he noticed the sun was no longer arched high in the sky, but that it was touching the rim of the earth. It was early evening, pools of shade made shadow and substance almost indistinguishable and it was time to go. Time to return to the cabin squatting on its heels in the sand, time to eat supper and talk and light the kerosene lamp and listen to the crickets.

Josh Tatum made his way home to Beccie and Uncle John, his father-in-law and Old Suggs his father, all of whom lived in a cabin in Sterrit's hollow. The hollow belonged to Cary Sterrit who owned the entire town outside of Gainesville. During the years of the war the hollow was almost deserted but now the war was over and it was beginning to be itself. There were about twenty-five families living on the land. They were poor, but not desperately. But most of all, they were young and strong. They lived enthusiastically and brightly and though the war unsteadied them with its tremendous confusion they somehow maintained high spirits, though at its conclusion several of the families in the hollow had members who would never return. But the people had faith in God and in the stern rich words of the Bible that preacher Askith pumped into them with clenched fists and rhythmical fury every Sunday. Besides, they were a simple people, accepting their position in the town and in the world without much question. That is the way it was. There were colored folk and white folk. The Sterrits and the people in the town were the bosses. They worked for them and sold to them and bought from them and mostly they admitted it was a white man's world and a white man's ways and the circle was closed to them. They never thought much of doing anything about it. They existed much as the sun and the rain.

Before the war, Josh Tatum, hard working, industrious, raised in the hollow, was much the same as the other young Negroes. He loved the feel of the earth as it melted from spring to

(*Continued on page 217*)



The Pe

Top, down, stranded GIs in Savannah, Ga., "plane hike" to Washington, D. C., with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Two kneeling colored GIs, L to R, are T/5 Troy Felder and Pfc. Leon Lee, both of Philadelphia. Shipping 200 tons of corn to American relief for Italy on board the freighter "Arunah S. Abell" from Baltimore, Md. Photo shows Negro stevedores on Baltimore pier loading the vessel.

William Henry Hastie of Knoxville, Tenn., first Negro ever to hold such an office, takes the oath as governor of the Virgin Islands at ceremonies at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas. Judge Herman Moore, district judge, administers the oath.

One of Father Divine's Swiss followers, Zurich "chief angel" Riesen speaks to faithful "angels." Behind him is a picture of Father Divine, and overhead the legend, "I know that you are God."

William J. Crozier (left), director of the East Germantown, Pa., recreation center, sets up the marbles for Amos Clay, 12 (center), of Philadelphia, and Bridget Carey, 9, of Philadelphia, title winners in the Philadelphia marbles tournament.

Press Associa Briti

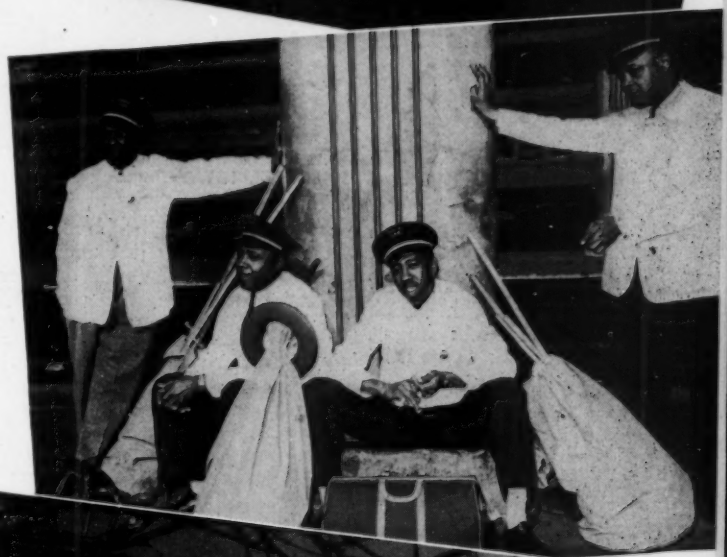
Meet the People

Top, down, an Eighth Fleet steward's mate, during the April-May maneuvers of the fleet in the Atlantic, takes his cue as his friends look on at the colored men's USO in Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Vain wait for train porters who were told to report to their train at Los Angeles, Calif., union station after the railroad strike was called. L to R, they are J. D. Harris, J. Pierce, Willie Van Ross, and Clifton Bryant.

These are smiles of victory at the May pageant of the senior class at Mount Holyoke college, South Hadley, Mass. Elaine Schultz of Athol, Mass., (center) reigns as Queen of the May at the annual spring pageant. First Negro girl ever to be so honored, Gwendolyn Irish of Philadelphia, Pa., (right) was chosen a court attendant with Aline Klinck (left) of Buffalo, N. Y.

Blind Navy veteran, Thomas J. Mitchell, works for the government in Washington, D. C. Blinded by enemy action in the fight for Saipan in November, 1944, Mr. Mitchell is the first blind veteran of World War II to be employed by the federal government in the Washington area. He is shown here receiving a gift from his seeing-eye dog "Tasca."



...British-Combine, Acme

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

DES MOINES, IOWA—*Branch workers in the 1946 membership drive.*

VICTORY DECISIONS

BUS SEGREGATION UNCONSTITUTIONAL: The U. S. Supreme Court on June 3 declared by a six to one decision that segregation on interstate buses by race is unconstitutional. This is one of the most sweeping victories won by the NAACP.

The majority opinion of the court was read by Justice Stanley F. Reed, with separate and concurring opinions by Justices Hugo L. Black and Felix Frankfurter. Justice Rutledge concurred in the result. Justice Harold H. Burton dissented.

This almost revolutionary decision of the tribunal in respect to racial segregation in interstate travel reversed the decision of the supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Virginia handed down in the case of Irene Morgan, appellant, vs. Commonwealth of Virginia.

Here is a brief history of the case.

On July 15, 1944, Mrs. Irene Morgan, a resident of both Gloucester county, Va., and Baltimore, Md., bought a through ticket of the Richmond Greyhound Lines, Inc., at Hayes Store, Va., for Baltimore, Md. On July 16 she boarded the bus at Hayes Store, in Gloucester county, for Baltimore. Between Hayes Store and Saluda Mrs. Morgan had occupied the five-person long seat in the extreme rear of the bus. But when the bus reached Saluda, Va., she moved to a newly vacated seat just ahead of this long rear seat. A few minutes later when a white couple boarded the bus, the driver, R. P. Kelly, asked Mrs. Morgan and her seat mate Estelle Fields to relinquish their seat to the white couple. Mrs. Morgan said she would be willing to give up her seat if the driver would give her another, but since she saw no empty seats in the bus she would stay where she was.

Upon Mrs. Morgan's refusal to move unless given a seat, which the driver made no effort to do, the bus driver, Kelly, procured a warrant from G. C. Bourne, justice of the peace of Middlesex county, charging that "Irene Morgan . . . did on the 16th day of July, 1944; unlawfully refuse to move back on the Greyhound bus in the section for colored people." The warrant was served on Mrs. Morgan by Sheriff R. B. Segar. She was arrested and later released on a $500 bond posted by Mrs. Ethel Amos, Sr.

It should be pointed out here that Mrs. Morgan's testimony of what happened, though corroborated by the testimony of four witnesses, was disputed by the bus driver Kelly. It being his contention that there was a vacancy on the long rear seat and that Mrs. Morgan refused to move when requested to do so.

Regardless of the policy of the Richmond Greyhound Lines, Inc., in its seating instructions to its drivers, most of them in practice see to it that all white passengers are seated first, even if it means depriving Negro passengers of the seats usually reserved for them in the rear.

Mrs. Morgan was tried on October 18, 1944, before J. Douglas Mitchell, judge of the circuit court of Middlesex county, Va., and found guilty. She was fined $10 and costs, total $15.25. Her case was promptly appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Virginia on a writ of error, and on June 6, 1945, her conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Virginia. The court held that the Virginia statute—section 4097dd of the Virginia Code (Michie), Acts 1930—was constitutional and thereby applicable to interstate as well as intrastate commerce. A petition for rehearing was filed on July 2, but it was denied by the Supreme Court of Appeals on September 4, 1945. On November 19, 1945, Mrs. Morgan filed a petition for appeal and assignment of errors, with a prayer for reversal, with the Supreme Court of the United States, which was signed by the late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone.

The Irene Morgan case is the first case to challenge the validity of the

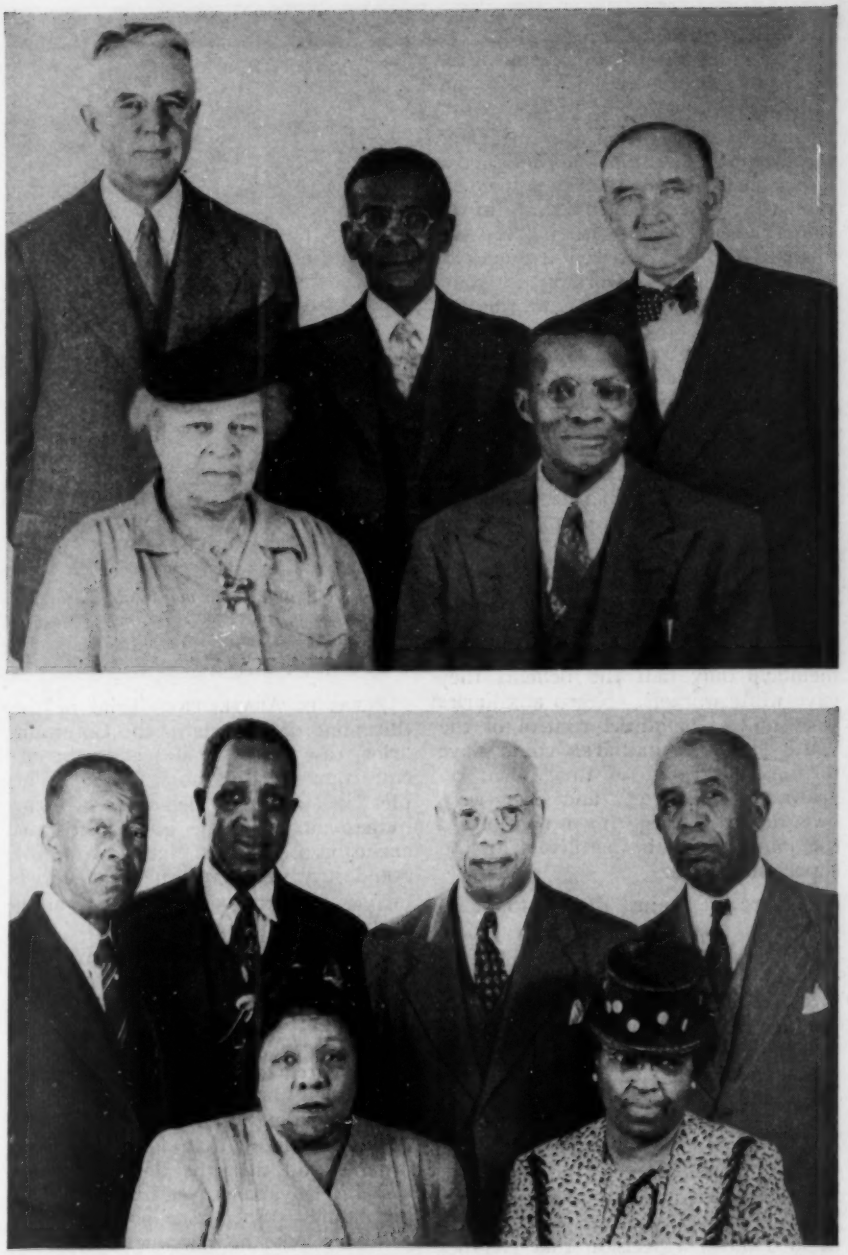
jim-crow statutes as applied to interstate passengers to reach the U. S. Supreme Court since the case of *Hall vs. DeCuir* in 1877, when the court held that a local Louisiana statute prohibiting segregation of passengers did not apply to interstate commerce. Other cases have reached the court since, but they involved the question of equality of jim-crow provisions, not the constitutionality of segregation. It might be remarked, incidentally, that the plaintiff in the case was also a woman, though the vehicle involved was a steamboat instead of a bus.

Basis of Justice Reed's decision was the conclusion that the Virginia statute "imposes undue burdens on interstate commerce," because it requires interstate passengers "to order their movements on the vehicle in accordance with local rather than national requirements." Contention that the Virginia law had been passed "to avoid friction between the races" was brushed aside as the "convenient apologetics of the police power."

"As no state law can reach beyond its own border nor bar transportation of passengers across its boundaries," continued Justice Reed, "diverse seating requirements for the races in interstate journeys result. As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute on the challenge that it interferes with commerce, as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different cases in interstate motor travel requires a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel."

Justice Burton, in his dissent, contended: "It is a fundamental concept of our Constitution that where conditions are diverse the solution of problems arising out of them may well come through the application of diversified treatment matching the diversified needs as determined by our local governments." He also said that the appellant's case was weak because of "the lack of facts and findings essential to demonstrate the existence of such a serious and major burden upon the national interest in interstate commerce as to outweigh whatever state or local benefits are attributable to the statute and which would be lost by its invalidation."

One result of the precedent of the case may well be invalidation of the segregation laws of the ten southern states which now require separation on common carriers engaged in interstate commerce. Test cases under the decision are likely to arise in the near future, but one would be rash to predict their outcome. The issue was comfort of travel, not race.



BRANCH WORKERS—*Top, assistants in the annual membership drive of the Duluth, Minn., branch. Bottom, principals in the membership drive.*

The NAACP lawyers who represented Mrs. Morgan were William H. Hastie, Leon A. Ransom, and Spottswood Robinson III. The case had the full cooperation of both the State Conference of Branches of Virginia and the national office.

BOILERMAKER JIM CROW SMASHED: As the result of a series of court actions initiated by the Association in Oregon, Rhode Island, and California, the executive committee of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America (AFL) has adopted a resolution providing for the abolition of auxiliary lodges in California and the admission of Negroes to the regular locals in California upon the same terms as white workers.

It has been the practice of the Boilermakers to refuse qualified Negroes membership in their regular locals. They did this, so they claimed, pursuant to a provision in their ritual, yet a careful examination of the ritual revealed no mention whatever of either

race or color. Hence it was clear that Negroes were being relegated to jim crow auxiliary unions as a result of the whims of the officers of the International.

Further investigation also uncovered the fact that the union had adopted a new constitution at their 1937 convention, which opened membership in the Boilermakers to male citizens "of some civilized country between the ages of 16 and 70 years, working at some branch of the trade at the time of making application." There still was no reference to race or color, not even in the by-laws adopted by the International. But they had issued another book labeled "By-Laws Governing Auxiliary Lodges," purported to have been adopted by the executive committee of the Council of Boilermakers, with rules to restrict membership to "colored male citizens."

Whole purpose of these auxiliary unions was to keep Negro craftsmen in a separate and inferior status. Insurance policies, for example, gave Negro members only half the benefits they gave white workers. Negro auxiliaries were under the direct control of the white lodges. Auxiliaries could have no business agent of their own; no grievance committee; and they were even denied the right to promotion on the job without the permission of the supervising local.

First revolt against these intolerable conditions came in November, 1943, when the Portland, Oregon, branch in conjunction with the national office, filed formal complaints with the FEPC. Another case arose in Providence, R. I., in 1943 and on January 13, 1944, Judge Alexander Churchill issued a temporary injunction restraining Local 308 of the Boilermakers from discriminating against Negroes. In 1945 Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson of the California Supreme Court in the case of Joseph James and Local 6 of the Boilermakers handed down a decision that Negroes must be admitted to locals of the Boilermakers on the same terms and conditions as white people.

The concluding clause of the resolutions adopted by the executive committee of the Boilermakers admitting Negroes to full membership reads:

"Be it further resolved that the International Executive Council will, forthwith and as expeditiously as practical, completely disestablish each and all of the Auxiliary Locals and Unions in existence in the State of California which have been created, maintained, and chartered by the International Brotherhood or any of its Local or Subordinate Lodges."

YOUNG MEMBER—*Four-month old Gussie Lee Pender of the Pecos, Texas, branch.*

COLUMBIA TRIAL

PLEAS IN ABATEMENT: Trial of the thirty-one defendants in the Columbia "riot" case began on May 28 in the circuit court of Columbia, Tenn. The pleas in abatement filed in each of the indictments raise the question of the exclusion of qualified Negroes from the grand jury which returned the indictments. Prosecutor Paul F. Bumpus declares that the state will join issue with every material fact presented by the defense plea. He will also attempt to disprove the defense contention that Negroes are excluded from juries in Maury county. But NAACP attorneys are prepared to prove through the process of elimination that Negroes have not been called for jury duty in Maury county for more than fifty years. In order to do this, the defense is prepared to call 10,000 Negroes to the witness stand. When asked by the court just how long the examinations would continue, attorney Looby dryly answered: "Well, we have examined twenty-seven witnesses today and so you can figure that out for yourself."

One hundred forty-eight witnesses have been called by the Association attorneys to date, all of whom have ample qualifications for jury service, but none of whom has ever been called.

So tense is the situation in the town of Columbia, that the defense attorneys commute daily from Nashville, Tenn., to Columbia, a 90-mile round trip. Although Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel, has not been threatened, Maurice Weaver, white Chattanooga attorney who went to Columbia when the Negroes were first arrested, has been told that his body might be found at the bottom of Duck river. A white man who worked in a government plant and who could have identified some members of the mob that stormed the prison demanding that Mrs. Gladys Stephenson and her son, James, be handed over to them, has also been threatened. Mr. Marshall said that he has never before seen a community so hostile to Negroes, and that he was going to ask for a change of venue.

One incident of the federal grand jury, meeting in Nashville, investigating possible violations of civil rights of Negroes in connection with the Columbia "riot," was the subpoenaeing of three officials of national organizations to testify. Two of these officials, Samuel Neuburger, New York member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and James Dombrowski of the Southern Conference for human welfare, were excused on condition that they voluntarily return when summoned again. The third, Oliver Harrington, public relations counsel of the NAACP, was excused on condition.

What the Branches Are Doing

CALIFORNIA: The SALINAS branch contributed $77 to the Columbia, Tennessee, riot fund. The branch also sponsored an Easter egg hunt for the children of Salinas under the direction of Mrs. Agnes Tebo and Mrs. Cecile Robins.

The Rev. Claude Williams, director of the Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., was speaker at a mass meeting for the benefit of the Columbia riot defense fund sponsored by the San Francisco branch. Co-sponsor of the meeting was Paul Schnur, secretary of the San Francisco CIO council.

The RIVERSIDE branch has asked school authorities to discontinue use of textbooks that show bias in treatment of minority groups, particularly Negroes. One of the book in question is *Interesting Friends*, published by Rand McNally Co., and used in classes in English literature in the high school. The book uses the pejorative "nigger" in several places. Two other books objected to are *Little Black Sambo* and *Nicodemus*.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Miss Polly Johnson, victim of modern slavery, told her story at a membership meeting of the D. C. branch on May 12. Miss Elsie Austin, well-known Washington attorney, addressed the same meeting.

First report-meeting of the campaign drive, made in May, showed an addi-

tion of 1,142 members and $1632 in cash. There are 126 captains in the drive, each heading 10-member teams.

An extra-special action memorandum was sent out by the Washington bureau in May urging all branches to write their senators asking them to support a strong bill to extend price controls for at least another year.

Leslie Perry of the Washington bureau wired members of the House Appropriations Commitee protesting against racial policies of the D. C. office of the United States Employment Service, which segregates and otherwise discriminates against Negro citizens seeking work.

The D. C. branch was recently presented a legacy of $1,120, left to the organization by the late Mrs. Marguerite S. Bow, a local school teacher who died July 6, 1945.

IOWA: In DES MOINES the branch gave the annual membership drive kick-off dinner in April. Team leaders in the campaign, May 1-15, were Mrs. Eva Roper, S. Joe Brown, Mrs. J. W. Mitchell, Mrs. William Neal, and Mrs. Alice McCraney. The education committee organized a speakers bureau and furnished speakers and campaign workers for the churches and other organizations.

MARYLAND: A project of the promotional secretary of the BALTIMORE branch was an intercollegiate oratorical and vocal contest held at the Sharp Street Memorial Methodist church April 26 among Lincoln, Howard, Morgan, Virginia State, and Hampton Institute. Lincoln and Howard won top honors; while Morgan and Virginia State got second place.

MICHIGAN: The largest NAACP branch in the country is that in DETROIT with 23,000 members. On May 26 the annual membership campaign for 30,000 members got under way with a gigantic victory parade. Walter P. Reuther, president of UAW-CIO, and Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary of the NAACP, were among the principal speakers at the opening report meeting. Mrs. Cellilus Curry is chairman of the membership campaign and under her are six divisions headed by the following: army, L. A. Smith and Mrs. Mildred O. Croff; labor, John S. Talley and Prince Clark; navy, Mrs. Margaret Nance and Fred Green; block, Rev. and Mrs. Griswold; intercultural, Collins J. Reynolds and Dr. Marion Edman; youth, Mrs. Helen Garvin and Miss Roberta McGuire.

Rev. Horace A. White, Gloster B. Current, Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, and Dr. James J. McClendon were speakers at the memorial day celebrations to honor Negro contributions to World War II.

E. F. Joseph Photo

BRANCH BANNER—*Charles Lenox (third from left), one of the oldest members of the Alameda county, Calif., branch, designed this banner and presented it to the branch. Others in the picture are L to R, C. L. Dellums, president; Mrs. E. Green, secretary; and Mrs. Jessie Singletary, assistant secretary. In a recent membership drive the branch added 3,000 members and collected approximately $5,000.*

Pearl Chin, owner-manager of the Pearl's Gardens, 6561 Grand river, informed the branch that it is not the policy of his establishment to refuse service to Negroes. Chin's answer came in response to a complaint lodged against an employee of the restaurant by a member of the branch that she had been refused service.

NEW JERSEY: Reports of committee chairmen of the CAMDEN branch are as follows: general welfare committee, Ruth Richardson, chairman, held a conference with mayor George E. Brunner on Clarence Arthur case, a conference with David Stern, owner of Camden *Courier-Post* re publicity, and mapped a program for integration of Negro children into the Camden public schools. Economic security committee, L. D. Prout, chairman, sponsored a business rally; committee on education, Mrs. Rebecca Butler, chairman, assisted in plans for business rally; labor and industry committee, Walter Gordon, chairman, sponsored mass meeting against job discrimination; juvenile delinquency committee, Father W. S. McKay, chairman, organized youth consultation service to advise parents and youth. The Columbia defense fund committee, L. G. Harrison, chairman, sent telegrams to President Truman and attorney general Tom Clark and raised more than $200 to help toward defense of the riot victims. The veteran service and the housing committee have been working together on housing for veterans.

NEW YORK: After petitioning the mayor, the NEW ROCHELLE branch succeeded in having a Negro appointed to the board of education of that city. The appointee is Dr. Clarence M. Long, pastor of the Bethesda Baptist church, who succeeds Edward D. Loughman, thus becoming the first Negro school trustee in New Rochelle.

Dr. Long is well qualified for his position and has played a large part in the civic affairs of his city. A native of Victoria, Texas, Dr. Long was educated at Bishop college, Upsala Swedish college, East Orange, N. J.; Virginia Union university, and Drew university.

Tenth annual New York State Conference was held in NEW YORK CITY May 24-26 with headquarters at the New York branch. Testimonial dinner to the state president was held at Elsie's dining room May 25, and the annual address was delivered by William Pickens at the Mt. Olivet Baptist church, May 26.

OHIO: The MASSILLON branch has completed a membership campaign which has doubled its membership. Starting with 272 members, the campaign workers, headed by Oscar W. Ritchie, reported 509 members at the close of the drive.

PLAINTIFF

Afro-American

She fought jim crow and won. Mrs. Irene Morgan of New York and Baltimore, who was plaintiff in the suit against the state of Virginia leading to Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated interstate bus travel.

DEFENSE ATTORNEY

Afro-American

He laid the groundwork. Spottswood Robinson III, brilliant young Richmond, Va., attorney whose defense of Mrs. Morgan in October, 1944, started the series of events resulting in the Supreme Court ruling.

BRANCH WORKER

Elbert White, captain of the Walter White division in the Pasadena, Calif., membership drive. As winner, this division reported 350 members and $565.00.

One feature of the report meeting of the branch was a panel discussion, "Current Forces Which Retard or Advance the Democratic Process," participated in by Rev. Harry Bigelow, assistant pastor of the Central Presbyterian church, Henry Grant, and R. W. Frank, with Spencer Gordon, director of the Massillon welfare federation, as moderator.

The Cleveland branch sent eight certified delegates to the NAACP national conference held in Cincinnati June 26-30.

Annual membership drive of the branch will begin September 15 and end October 6. The branch has secured the services of the veteran campaigner Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin to aid in the campaign.

Dorothy Fuldheim, radio commentator for station WJW and world traveler, headlined the program for the annual interracial branch tea held at the Carver Park auditorium on May 26. Sharing the program with Miss Fuldheim were Mrs. Dilworth Lupton, chairman; Miss Pearl L. Mitchell, senior hostess; Mrs. Ardelia Bradley Dixon, assistant hostess; Mrs. Harry Kirtz and Mrs. Fedelma Boyd Drewry, who poured tea. Junior hostesses were Emma Stewart, Katherine Berwick, Irene Spencer, Vivienne Brown, Ethel Adrine, Ann Williams, Pauline Witbeck, Mildred Martin, Genevieve Stewart, Loveline House, Marge Fannin, Jinnie Leland, Jane Herman, Ennis Quay Scott, and Mardess Johnson.

For several months the Cleveland branch has been working diligently in behalf of private Douglas L. Weir, who was sentenced to life in prison for an alleged rape early in 1946.

Climaxing intensive work on the part of the branch word has been received from governor Lausche that John Crawford should not be returned to Alabama to complete fifteen and a half years of a penitentiary sentence.

In 1934 Crawford stole about $10 worth of groceries in Birmingham, Alabama, to feed his hungry family. This was during the depression when no work was available for him in that city. For this he was sentenced to sixteen years in the penitentiary at hard labor. He escaped and came to Cleveland. He was discovered and governor Chauncey Sparks of Alabama asked for his extradition. The branch fought the case on the basis of the excessive penalty, his subsequent service in the recent war, his family status, and his excellent citizenship and work record since his escape twelve years ago.

PENNSYLVANIA: Annual membership drive of the BRYN MAWR branch had a dual opening. The first one was on May 2 with Judge Rainey of Philadelphia as speaker; the second, May 9 with Roy Wilkins, editor of *The Crisis* as speaker.

Campaign set-up of the YORK branch is as follows: Mrs. Katherine Harley is drive chairman with two divisions under her, the rainbow and the buffalo. Chairman of the rainbow division is Miss Dorothy Rhoades, with the following captains: Miss Mary Carter, Mrs. Rosanna Dowery, Mrs. Mary Alice Bridgett, Mrs. Mabel Harley, and Miss May Dancy. Marcus Clayton is chairman of the buffalo division, with the following captains: Charles Murray, Samuel Moody, Fred C. Jenkins, David Orr, Ramsay Williams, Wade Robinson, Henry Garvin, Richard Arugunes, Thomas Chapman, and David Sexton. Each captain is to get five workers and the goal for each worker is ten memberships.

In PHILADELPHIA more than 1,000 persons were invited to be present at the opening meeting of workers on April 30 in the 1946 branch drive (May 15- June 15) for 25,000 members. The meeting was held in the Southwest-Belmont YWCA and was highlighted by the introduction to the workers of Dr. Daniel A. Brooks, recently retired school principal, who served as director of this year's drive. Recognized as one of the foremost educators in the state, Dr. Brooks was considered an ideal selection by the branch as director of the drive. Slogan for the drive was "Finish the Fight."

Two local ministerial organizations in executive session in May went on record in endorsement of the membership campaign of the branch. These groups were the Baptist Ministers Conference and the Methodist Ministers group.

TEXAS: On May 10 the ABILENE branch held an entertaining educational program with a very cosmopolitan list of participants. There was a book review of *Mrs. Palmer's Honey* by Miss Marguerite Anderson, librarian of Abilene Christian college, white; sing-

COLLEGE CHAPTER OF THE NAACP—*Members of the college chapter at Talladega college, Talladega, Alabama. Two male students in front row center are William B. Edwards (shorter of the two), president-elect, and Orzell Billingsley, retiring president.*

ing of Jewish compositions, by Miss Rose Shirley Walkow, Jewish student at Hardin-Simmons university, white; talk on China by Miss Alice Choy, Chinese student at Hardin-Simmons; and current events by Miss Henry Mae Slaughter, Negro teacher of Abilene.

The following report comes from the Pecos branch, R. J. Walker, president; Amy J. Lewis, chairman of publicity; and Dimple Barton, secretary:

"We have renewed our spirit to fight for all civil-rights organizations and legislation that promotes our political, and economic interests, secures educations equalities, extends OPA, creates a permanent FEPC, and abolishes the poll tax.

"We have sent up a committee of thirteen to meet with the city council and it has had effect. A committee of nine met with the school board, carrying a petition asking for a modern and well-equipped school building. A special committee investigated working conditions and wages in the town and found them to be on the average with those in the leading cities of Texas. Teacher salaries were an exception.

"Our organization with the help of PTA and the 'white' 4H-club girls and white friends are establishing a community library as an aid in the education of the community.

Washington: In Vancouver the regional secretary, on April 19, from the West Coast Regional Office, spoke to a large and appreciative audience on the fight for job recognition and the FEPC. He also spoke in the following cities: Portland, Bremerton, and Tacoma.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

Pecos, Texas: Council members report renewed efforts to carry their part of the program of the senior branch. Officers are Mrs. Lilly Mae Sellers, president; Miss Doris Coleman, publicity chairman; Miss Lee Lillian Johnson, secretary; and Miss Virlee Pendleton, assistant secretary. Council advisors are Dan Haynes and Miss Willie Mae Brown.

York, Pennsylvania: The youth council, with a membership set-up similar to that of the senior branch, has set 250 members as a goal in its drive for new membern.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: The Ardmore youth council of the Bryn Mawr branch held its youth week musical program on April 28 at Roberts hall, Haverford college, under the title, "Melody Hour."

Seattle, Washington: Millie Brown, president, and Arline J. Yarbrough, senior advisor, offer the following report on the activities of their council from March 1946 to May 1946:

In January, 1946 the Seattle branch authorized Mrs. Arline J. Yarbrough to re-organize the youth council and to act as advisor for the group. The council, originally organized in 1944 by Mrs. Melvina Squires, had become inactive after she began employment out of the city.

Reorganization: Election of officers was held on March 14, 1946, with the following results: Millie Brown, president; Cecil Nichols, vice-president; Clarine Garrett, secretary; Lillian White, treasurer.

The council meets twice monthly, alternating business and social meetings. Each person present at social meetings is assessed fifteen cents to defray expenses of refreshments, thus keeping the treasury intact. Social meetings are planned each month by voluntary committees and expenses must not exceed $2.50.

Membership Drive: On April 6 the council held its kick-off rally and dance at the East Madison Branch YMCA. Membership captains and their teams set up attractive booths to take in new members. The drawing for door prizes proved very entertaining and helped to introduce some of the newer places of business to the community. Among the prizes were a certificate for ten gallons of gasoline, a pound of much valued butter, two free chicken dinners, two shampoos and croquinole waves, two dollars and fifty cents in trade for cleaning and pressing, and several boxes of groceries—all donated by business people in the community. With each prize a note was enclosed asking the recipient to personally thank the donator. Among the members on the program were the "Artists for Action" who received thundering applause for their peppy and appropriate songs, particularly "Join the NAACP" to the tune of "Free and Equal Blues." The council was very proud of the success of this first endeavor in the number of new members enrolled, cooperation among members, publicity for the council, financial gain, and the wholesome fellowship enjoyed by a heterogeneous group of young and old of all races.

Cooperate With Senior Branch: At the kick-off dinner sponsored by the senior branch, youth was well represented by fifteen members, and as their contribution showed the film "On Guard."

Youth Week: In observance of youth week, eight ministers (some white) were approached and asked to have youth represented on their church programs on Sunday, April 28 and to make a special plea for memberships in the youth council. Posters and literature were made available to the churches.

Youth Council Receives Special Recognition: As a result of the advisor's contacts with the Educational Center and talks with staff personnel about the activities of the youth council, a letter was received inviting the council to hold its next meeting at the center and inviting members of the council to visit the center at anytime and enjoy its facilities. This is important because

the Educational Center, an agency member of the community chest, is located in a mixed community, predominately Jewish with Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and Caucasians represented.

CASES OF DISCRIMINATION: Two cases of discrimination have been brought to the attention of the council. The first is that of a restaurant owner who refused service to a Negro on the grounds that it was "against his policy." The other involves a roller skate rink where, it is reported, a "White Only" sign is being displayed. Investigations are being made with the help of the senior branch and we hope to be able to make a favorable report on both cases very soon.

FUTURE PLANS: A "tag day" in June, and sponsorship of a mock election later in the summer, at which time a youth mayor or youth governor will be elected. If enough people are interested in a project of this kind it will be conducted as much like an authentic election as possible, giving actual experience in political activities and creating greater interest generally in legislation, with emphasis on the necessity of registering and voting.

Millie Brown, president of the youth council, is also a member of the executive board of the branch and at the next board meeting will recommend that one member of the council serve on each branch committee, thus giving youth actual experience and training in these fields.

Beginning May 23, Mrs. Gertrude Nafe, former New York school teacher, conducted a series of classes in "Meeting Procedures and Parliamentary Rules." These classes will be held on regular meeting night.

Present membership in the Seattle Youth Council is approximately seventy-five members with final reports of captains not yet made. The goal is 250 members by the end of this year. Bank balance of the council is $48.17.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY: A group of students organized a Cornell chapter of the NAACP on April 28. The chapter immediately began an active program with the following objectives accomplished: a membership drive which added thirty-five new members; sending of a 1,000-signature petition to President Truman and attorney general Tom Clark on the Tennessee riot; radio dramatization of the case over station WCRG; telegrams to senators Mead and Wagner asking passage of OPA legislation without crippling amendments; and telegrams to Governor Dewey asking a thorough investigation of the Freeport, L. I., case.

President of the Cornell chapter is Walter B. Lewis of San Francisco, Calif.; Robert Sugarman of Syracuse, N. Y., is vice-president; Edith True of Brooklyn, N. Y., secretary; and Richard Young of Brooklyn, treasurer.

Book Review

LABOR PROBLEMS

***Negro Labor: A National Problem.* By Robert C. Weaver. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. XIV +329 pp. $3.00.**

In *Negro Labor, a National Problem,* Dr. Weaver with scholarly economy treats only with that which represents an addition to the study of Negro labor and which is at the same time urgent and present. The book is not a comprehensive study of the Negro worker to date attempting to trace his relations to organized labor and to all other movements, to all industries, localities and occupations. While the volume is must reading for all persons who want to know where we stand in terms of economic opportunity and what our next steps are, it in no way duplicates what has already been done by Woodson and Greene, Wesley, Spero and Harris, Myrdal, or Northrup. Of course some of the material has appeared before in monographs and articles by the author.

The book deals with events, problems and research since the coming of the New Deal and is a valuable record of the war period. It has a last brilliant section on "Implications for the Future." At times the writing is discursive, and while this might be disconcerting to the social scientist who is accustomed to compact and rigidly-organized material, it lends to readability and helps maintain the interest of the general public.

Throughout the volume the author relies on the best current research as well as on his own experience as advisor on Negro Affairs in various government departments.

In consequence Dr. Weaver's book is full of really brilliant discussions which only a trained economist and governmental official of long experience could make. His analysis of the Negro's position in the construction industry, and especially with regard to the new skills in large-scale construction, is significant at this time when that industry offers the greatest opportunity to the Negro war workers coming out of shipbuilding and aircraft construction with transferable skills.

The book also contains an incisive analysis of the color-caste occupational patterns in industry, its relationship to the caste and class patterns of society, and the effect of advancing technology on these industrial patterns. The role of management and of labor in achieving the wartime employment of the Negro is carefully outlined, both in terms of accomplishments and of techniques. Dr. Weaver's chapter, "Recent Events in Negro Union Relationships," should be read as a careful supplement to Northrup's book.

Perhaps the best part of the work is the writer's searching analysis as a public administrator of the roles of PWA, OPM, WPB, NYA, the Office of Education, WMC, and FEPC in the business of achieving the fair employment and full utilization of Negroes.

One cannot agree entirely with the writer's discussion of FEPC. It is clear that he understands that the main function of the early Committee was to build itself from a political gesture within the OPM, WPB, and WMC to the status of an independent wartime agency such as the War Labor Board, the OPA, or the War Production Board, with full power to deal with the problem of discrimination, truly representing all groups involved: employers, unions, and the minority groups affected by discrimination. The time had come when fair employment for the Negro had to be made a national and world issue. The agency which was to do the job had to be responsible to national and world opinion, and to the opinion of the minorities for whose morale it was established.

FEPC had to resort to the spectacular shot-gun type of administration in order to break out from under the administrative wraps which the Administration itself had placed around it. Although it is clear that the author understands that the policy of the early Committee was directed in this fashion, he so hedges in his discussion that it appears at times that FEPC was merely seeking unduly to aggrandize itself and was jealous of other units of Government working in the same field.

Part III of the book is entitled "Implications for the Future" and deals with the relationships of Negro opportunities to full employment, orderly reconversion, seniority in reconversion, and next action steps. Especially valuable in this part of the book is the writer's overall industry analysis of the postwar chances of the Negro worker, and his revelation on an industry by industry basis of just what will be the effect of labor seniority principles on the continued employment of the Negro worker. This section is a thorough, remarkable forecast of what the Negro worker will face, of what are

his necessities in terms of full employment and of what his program must be.

There is a very penetrating analysis of the kinds of full employment being proposed and of what kind of full employment the Negro will need. The author makes it clear that a governmental full-employment program alone will not solve the Negro's occupational problems; he must also have a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act. Dr. Weaver knows from experience that labor shortages do not result in the fair hiring of Negroes. The author wants enough assured outlay to take a maximum output of needed goods off the market. He wants Government to influence the location of industry and to organize the mobility of labor. He wants a smooth reconversion and Federal power to achieve it. Every American, Negro, or white person, who is concerned about the economic future of the colored worker should read this book at once. The work's main value is in its immediacy and its relevancy to action.

JOHN A. DAVIS

MISCELLANEA

Students of *cosas de negros* will welcome the appearance of the new scholarly journal, *Afroamerica,* edited by Jorge A. Vivó for the International Institute of Afro-American Studies, published semiyearly by the Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City. The journal is in charge of a distinguished committee of editors consisting of Melville J. Herskovits and Alain Locke of the United States, Fernando Ortiz of Cuba, Richard Pattee of Puerto Rico, Jean Price Mars of Haiti, and Arthur Ramos of Brazil.

Contributions are printed in the language of the contributors and the first issue, January and July, 1945, contains "Problem, Method and Theory in Afroamerican Studies," by Melville J. Herskovits; "Comercio de Esclavos en Mexico por 1542" (Slave Trading in Mexico in 1542"), by Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán; "Culte des Marassas" ("The Cult of Twins"), by Jean Price Mars; "Instrumentos Musicales de Posible Origen Africano en la Costa del Peru" ("Musical Instruments of Possible African Origin found on the Peruvian Coast"), by Fernando Romero; "La Madre Negra" ("The Negro Mother"), by Ildefonso Pereda Valdés; "A Procedência dos Negroes Brasileiros e os Arquivos Eclesiasticos" ("Provenience of Brazilian Negroes and the Ecclesiastical Archives"), by Aires de Mata Machado (Filho); "Color y Democracia" ("Color and Democracy"), by Edwin R. Embree; "Jacques Roumain: La Vida" ("Jacques Roumain: His Life"), by Ludwig Renn; and a short piece on Roumain's funeral by Roussan Camille followed by a sketch of the Haitian Bureau of Ethnology, founded by Roumain in 1941, by Alfred Métraux.

Another section is devoted to "Revista de Libros" or book reviews, all of which are in Spanish; "Revistas de Revistas" or review of magazines; and "Notas e Informaciones" or "Notes and Information."

* * *

Adalberto Ortiz is an Ecuadorian mulatto novelist and poet now attached to his country's consulate in Mexico City. Just recently Señor Ortiz sent us a copy of his prize-winning novel (it won first prize in 1942 in the Ecuadorian National Novel Contest) *Juyungo:* Historia de un Negro, una Isla y otros Negros ("Blackamoor: Story of a Negro, an Island and other Negroes") and from it we have learned that the Negroes of Ecuador are also up against the problem of exploitation and prejudice. Title of the book, *Juyungo,* is itself a Cayapa Indian pejorative for the Negroes who inhabit the northwest province of Esmeraldas. Ecuador's Negro population is small. According to estimates there are 78,000 Negroes and 427,000 mulattoes.

* * *

There is vast erudition and sound comon sense in Dr. Fernando Ortiz's latest sociological study, *El Engaño de las Razas* ("Misconceptions about Race"). In this book, Dr. Ortiz, famous Cuban social scientist and student of the Negro, offers a complete panorama of recent biological and sociological theories about race and race inferiority to conclude that the "science of the whites" is nothing more than the superstitions of a barbarism which would make human sacrifices to the idols of color diversity. The book will be reviewed in an early issue of *The Crisis.*

* * *

Gilberto Freyre, whose *Casa-Grande & Senzala* ("Big-House & Slave Quarters") is scheduled for fall publication by Knopf in an English version by Samuel Putnam, is subject of a lively anecdotal sketch by his relative, friend and sometime secretary, Diogo de Melo Meneses. The book, *Gilberto Freyre* (Notas biográficas com ilustrações, inclusive desenhos e caricaturas)—"Gilberto Freyre" (Biographical Notes with illustrations, including drawings and caricatures—limns Freyre's personality as writer, social scientist, politician, traveler, peripatetic professor, sketcher and caricaturist. He describes Freyre's work habits, how he wrote *Casa-Grande,* and his present life in Santo Antônio de Apipucos.

* * *

When the chancellor of the Witwatersrand university, J. H. Hofmeyr, capped Dr. Benedict Wallet Vilakazi at the summer graduation ceremonies of the university, the latter became the first African in the history of South Africa to receive a doctor of literature degree. Dr. Vilakazi is author of three novels, an essay on literary criticism, and two volumes of poetry; his recently published book, *Amal Ezulu* ("The Horizon of the Zulu Nation"), is a book of poems in which the author identifies himself with the struggles of his people. The book is reviewed in the March 30, 1946, issue of the *Ilanga Lase Natal* ("The Natal Sun").

J. W. I.

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Look Away, Dixie

(*Continued from page* 207)

summer, hardened from autumn to winter. He was content to work his land during the day and in the evening to sit on the creaky step, just outside the rim of lamp light, and dream or tell Beccie of the way he would like things to be some day. But now he was different. He loved the land, but there were other things stirring inside him, new sprouts of concern and wonder about the world and its people that until the war he had taken for granted.

Old Suggs met him at the door of the cabin. White haired, tired and bent from years as well as hard work, he now acquitted his past industry by slowly rocking himself and his memories into a dull quiet each day in the sun. Bad weather he detested and he grumbled constantly until the day was bright again. But even Old Suggs, completely self-centered as he was, marked the difference in Josh. He had puzzled over it for awhile and then with no appreciable insight decided a few days of home cooking would "set Josh right agin." Beccie and her father, Uncle John, saw that Josh had changed too. Beccie's concern was very

real, but she was not able to understand him with any more clarity than Old Suggs. All the people in the village knew their boys would come home changed. The papers that they read, or had read to them, explained all of that. It was the fact they had been in a war. They had killed men. That was it. But somehow Josh's aloofness, his new hardness, was more incomprehensible than his family had ever thought possible.

And here he was, darkly silent, with such an unsurmountable tenseness to him and remoteness that they doubted they could ever find their way into his new world. But it was time for supper. Stomachs could not stand too much puzzling and a day's work told on weary muscles and flagging spirits. And then too, supper was important for it recaptured the old ways, the days when Beccie did not hastily scrutinize Josh's face for his reaction when she said something or when Uncle John did not have to repeat a worn out joke twice to receive an answering smile from even-dispositioned Josh. Somehow the round table and cloth and the buzz of flies and the preoccupation with the stove and the dishes helped everybody. Even Josh. For it deadened by its very simplicity all the pain and doubt he felt, all the questionings and twisted half answers. It helped and Josh soon slouched into his old chair feeling the first twinge of belonging, the first sense of ease with those people who were his family.

After supper with the table cleared and the lamp lit, the clearing in front of the cabin a stretch of dark, mysterious shapes, the dog thumping on the floor, restlessly biting fleas, and the air sweet with night and echoes of far off voices, the world seemed more understandable to Josh. More complete and less full of evil and cruelty than he had been witness to for so long.

"The beans are growin' good," growled Uncle John. "Taters aint. Lord its hottern I kin remember last year. The good Lord must have been powerful fond of this country. Or mebbe its de other way—mebbe there's more sinners here. Ah reckon sech hot sun bound to make a man feel holier. What d'you think Josh?"

Josh turned his head briefly and almost curtly replied, "Don't know, Uncle John. Maybe. But it sure is hot."

Another silence, shackling their tongues and making speech a tremendous effort. Would Josh ever be himself again?

Then Beccie came out on the porch, sensed the tensenens, and to help relieve it, tried to make gossip, speaking brightly.

"Pshaw tain't one thing, its another. Katie William's baby took with the croup, and her with her oldest son in a hospital somewhere. Don't seem likely she'll ever have a good spell none, free of trouble. Then there's Saunders. The old fool thought he was killing a coon and shot Jess Thompson. What a time!"

Josh was getting restless, drumming his fingers on the boards.

"Honey, why don't you go down to the store and get me some meal. We need it for tomorrow. You might see some of your old friends. How about it?"

"Why sure I'll go." Josh leaped to his feet. Just to be free of the quiet and his family's desperate attempts at kindness.

In loping steps he swung along the country road to Cary Sterrit's store. Though owned and run by a white man it was the center of business for its entire village. In one corner the colored folk would congregate and in another the white, each group garrulous about their individual and collective troubles and good fortunes. The circles were usually mutually exclusive, but there was rarely bad feeling between them. The Negroes were usually submissive and subdued when about the store; the whites, noisy and unrepressed.

When Josh came into view of the store he saw it was unusually busy for so late in the evening. He hesitated a moment wondering if he felt like meeting all the people there. He weighed it a moment, knowing how it would be, the questions and exclamations, the back slapping and the old memories recalled. He shrugged, thinking that sooner or later it would have to be, why not now. A sudden flurry, mouths gaping wide, eyes soft with friendship and welcome. "Hail Josh!" They all gathered around him, those former neighbors of his with whom he had spent such a large portion of his time, weighing in slow thought the condition of the soil, the amount of rain and the threat of hurricane. Here they were again, quite the same. Same dusty, patched clothes, same run-over shoes, same smiles, same talk. Josh wavered a moment, almost frightened by their gusto. Could he do it? Could he sit there as in the old days and laugh and indolently kick his heels against the wooden cracker keg, stealing a glance from time to time at the beer tavern across the road, thinking how pleasant it would be just to sit and drink cold beer. How fine a way to escape the heat of the fields. But now it was different. He suddenly realized he was afraid of his own people. For to himself his experience had opened entirely new vistas which at the same time closed the door on some of the old ones. He was confronted with the urgency of the situation. How could he decipher the code, the mystic symbols which lay at hand. How emerge through the mystery of his imemdiate past and pattern a way for himself based on his new feelings.

"It's been a long time Josh . . . sun ain't no cooler since you been gone . . . Old man Sterrits hard on us black folks . . . prices high . . . Tell us, Josh, how does it feel to be back? . . ."

And so the questions pursued him, as he knew they would. Couldn't they see he was different. He no longer had their humility. No longer wanted to walk in the gutter so the white man could have the right of way. No longer wanted to remain the servant, the obliging, easy gaited, shuffling, soft humored "nigger." By God, no! His mind revolted at the thought. He smiled a moment at them, a rather bitter helpless smile. He could not reach out to them, could not join their circle. He knew he would have to stop at least a minute and make some general attempts at conversation. And then to escape. He felt lost and alone. Even Beccie was little consolation now. He could not rest anywhere, he was friendless and who could plumb his depths? You have come a long way, his blood whispered. The past screamed across his brain, the fury, the frenzy of battle and how he had come to learn the common denominator of life was not color, but spirit; the amount of honesty and courage in a man. These were the things that tilted the scales. Not the arrogant, unswerving line that marked the dark man, separated from the white. How tell them, he wondered, how explain. How cool the bursting heat in his mind, ho get them to see him as a man, just like other men!

Just then Mr. Sterrit appeared in the entrance to the store.

"Well, how you Josh . . . nice to see you. . . ." A gleam of smile, a trifle skeptical . . . "Seen a lot of fighting, eh . . . seen a lot of other side?"

Josh wanted to turn on his heels and leave them all . . . the false curiosity, the condescending politeness. . . .

"Yes, sir, Mr. Sterrit," he found himself replying, "a good bit of the other side."

What did Beccie want, he couldn't remember . . . how to escape all of

this . . . cracker meal. He remembered and glad to be free of any more questions he explained casually his wife was wanting some things and so he entered into the furtive shadows of the store.

It was a broken down, sagging building, propped up by stilts straining to maintain its weight. Inside the commodities were haphazardly exhibited on shelves. There was no attempt either at order or cleanliness. A pot bellied stove leered awkwardly in the rear and here during the winter months the congregation of white men would gather to pick their teeth, chew tobacco, and discuss local affairs. As Josh entered he saw that several white men, some of whom he knew, were gathered there, leaning over the counter, engaged in indifferent talk with Martin Walker, Sterrit's son-in-law, who helped out. People said it was because he was no account and couldn't hold a job that he had to work for his father-in-law, but whatever the reason, he had a nasty way about him. It was almost as if he were doing you a favor when he waited upon you. He would slouch against the wall and without any display of interest drawl out a painful "Kin ah help you?" Pasty faced, with pale yellow hair and pale eyes, usually discolored from too much drink, he had the makings of an insolent bully. But he was too lazy, so he took his spite out on his wife and the bottle. Josh had never seen him before, but he somehow instinctively distrusted him the minute he laid eeys on him.

Walker looked up as Josh walked in, pausing in the middle of a sentence. He nodded curtly and went on talking to the men lounging around him. Josh walked up to the counter and said briefly, interrupting the conversation, that he would like some meal. He stood there erect, and waited. Perhaps it was something in his bearing, perhaps it was that Walker was in an argumentative mood and wanted to show off to the crowd, or that seeing Josh's overseas ribbons got him (he had not even been inducted), at any rate his face clouded suddenly and he snarled, "What you say, nigger?"

Josh's mind twisted. Nigger! There it was. His mind clenched, but he spoke evenly.

"I would like some meal."

"Did you say 'sir', nigger?"

It couldn't be, not this time, not now. He couldn't hang his head to save his life. He couldn't mumble a humble apology and scrape before this white man. But he gulped and realizing he would have to extricate himself from the trouble brewing, forced a rueful grin and said, "Pshaw, guess I was thinking too hard, but I sure would like some meal, please."

The screen door creaked and a flabby, ill-dressed woman walked in.

"Evening, Mrs. Simmons."

"Howdy, Mart."

Talk—talk about the younguns, talk about the weather, talk about bread and canned tomatoes and coffee. Josh shifted his position experimentally hoping to gain their attention. All he wanted was the meal. He wanted to get out, away from them. The talk dragged on.

"Excuse me, sir, but may I have my meal?"

"Wait your turn nigger."

It broke . . . Josh's mind was suddenly splotched with ugly fire.

"I was here before the lady," he said.

"You was what, nigger?"

"I was here before this lady, and I would like my sack of meal."

Martin Walker's face flared crimson. His voice leaped in an ugly sound.

"You niggers. Just because you got in the army . . . went overseas, you think you all are mighty fancy, don't you? By God you loaf around here and you loafed in the army. Everybody knows you weren't worth yore salt. You was scared . . . you was scared plumb yaller. Why you. . . ."

Josh suddenly found himself face to face with the white man.

"I want only one thing," he said, "I want the sack of meal."

"By God I don't care ef you do. God damn yore black hide, you lousy nigger."

Josh became taut like a whipcord. Hurt and anger tore at his mind.

But Martin wasn't through.

"God damn," he said, "God damn you."

His voice was shrill and he had hardly finished when he had leaped over the counter and had clutched Josh by the throat. The two fumbled . . . lurched and swayed with the force of their blows. Mrs. Simmons ran excitedly out of the store, but Sterrit and the other white men rushed in, and began shouting obscenities at Josh, urging Walker to "beat the bastard up." From nowhere, Josh was never sure how it happened, Martin picked up or was handed a board, such as was part of a crate containing fruit, and smashed in Josh's face. There was a flicker of scorching flame, and then Josh sagged to the floor, overcome by the blow. The minute he had fallen, several of the white men led by Sterrit, rushed in, kicked him in the groin and pounded his heaving chest with relentless blows. Satisfied they had done a good job, surveying the blood in sticky pools issuing from Josh's body, they picked him up and tossed him out of the store.

"Lynchin' ain't good enough for that nigger . . . we outa cut out his gizzard" . . . The remarks filled the room, stinging, bitter.

The Negroes all this while had for the most part disappeared from the store, knowing full well what could happen had they remained. Two of the older men, less fleet of foot and perhaps having more courage than the others, remained. When Josh's beaten body was thrown out the door they quietly approached, one taking his arms, the other his feet, and began carrying him back to his cabin.

"See that God damned nigger stays away from here, d'you hear," one of the white men roared. His words crescendoed after the three black men and the two who were bearing Josh stumbled in the dark in their fear.

By the time they approached the village their coming had been announced by the shrill cry of one of the children who saw them, bent under their load, coming down the worn, yellow path. Somehow despite Beccie's hysteria and Uncle John's excited questions they got Josh into the cabin and onto the cot. He lay there, almost lifeless, huge bulk of body, sprawling limply on the bed. They got the blood washed off, the open wounds cleaned and dressed. It was not until they had removed the clotted blood from his face that they saw one of his eyes was gone.

He awoke, black man, black man minus one eye and a raw wound in his heart. He had been clubbed with their fists, scalded with their hate, strangled with their undying fury. Betrayed! He had fought for them.

What could he say to those who had died, or to those who had lived? His valley was hemmed in with malice and hostility. He wondered what road would he find, where in all the world would there be relief from the pounding volley . . . nigger, nigger, nigger.

Klan's Revolution

(Continued from page 203)

substantial help by "millionaire missionary" and manufacturer R. G. Le Tourneau of Tocoa Springs, Georgia. Mr. Le Tourneau, who holds daily religious services in his plant but who has union men arrested by local police, has agreed to provide the "Christian Aviators" airplanes without cost—so it is announced—to drop tracts and religious literature on the "heathen" in different countries of the non-Christian world.

The good brother also refers about-to-be discharged servicemen who visit his two-story "Christian Service Center"

to a new group called the Christian War Veterans which has sprouted in Los Angeles. The preacher's namesake, Gerald L. K. Smith, incidentally, has been cutting quite a figure in this California city and has been calling for "Christian Veterans 'to organize.'" At Clearwater, Florida, fifteen miles from Tampa, "Veterans non-partisan committees" are set up to undertake political action for Christian candidates" in the 1946 elections. A third member of the Smith connection—ex-Klan membership salesman and now Lieutenant Governor John Lee Smith of Texas—sews up a large section of the Amvets (American Veterans of World War II Organization)—originally started in Louisiana to promote his candidacy for Governor, next year, on a platform of "white Christian Americansim."

Sons of Dixie

Candidates for admission into the Sons of Dixie, organized among Chattanooga AFL trade unionists by local ward heelers to offset the possible political influence of the rival Ku Klux Klan, kneel before an open Bible and an unfurled American flag, promising to buy and store arms for future use against Negroes in, what they are told, will be a coming race war. Some day soon, the leaders of the Sons of Dixie, one of them a civil service employee of the Chattanooga postoffice, hope to lead the ninety nine per cent white AFL workers in the city against the fifty-fifty CIO workers who are learning that wages mean more than color in the development of a fully-producing industrial economy. It may be remembered that only when one worker organization fought another was fascism able to conquer either in Germany or in Italy.

Thousands of teen age youngsters, who learned neither economics nor sociology nor the humanities in Dixie's white segregated schools, gather by the thousands in huge "Youth For Christ" rallies. These rallies are sponsored invariably by local citizens like Birmingham's Jim Simpson who ran as the "white supremacy" candidate against U. S. Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, last year. It may be more than a matter of religious interest that some leaders of the "Youth For Christ Crusade" have close ties with Gerald L. K. Smith and admit in private sessions that their organization was hatched to head off "what might be a post-war leftist (read liberal) youth movement." Today, Youth For Christ is miles out in front of all the traditionally liberal church groups for young people, thanks to the generous publicity given it by William Randolph Hearst and by influential southern preachers who know that their butter isn't spread on a piece of corn pone. Youth For Christ, with its fierce fundamentalism and its implied hypernationalism, has all the possibilities of a *Hitler Jugend* movement and the well-meaning resolutions on social questions passed by idealistic Protestant youth conferences are frail weapons with which to fight it.

The tares of racism sprout everywhere in the fields of Dixie to choke these new growths planted in a new age which are symbolized by the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the CIO and the few inter-racial locals of the AFL, the TVA and the beginning southern industrial age due to replace the age of the plantation and the bull-tongue plow. If Dixie turns from racism to democracy, then the emergent American fascism will have lost its strongest base. And complete emancipation for all peoples will not be far away in every other section where southern racial attitudes have weakened free institutions and the very spirit of freedom itself.

The Klan is determined to hold Dixie for fascism by uniting all fascists. It believes that all fifth-column groups are so many paths to the Fiery Cross of Stone Mountain as we, who acknowledge the Christian ethic of man's oneness, believe that all religious denominations lead to the Cross of Calvary. The Klan leaders unlike the tactless Gerald L. K. Smith, antagonizes no other fascist organization. Instead, it gives them all moral and, so it is said, financial support against the day when the powerful magnates who call the turn for all the little fuehrers demand that the fuehrers unite or go off the payroll. Having pretended to 'disband" on a national basis in order to escape payment of $600,000 in federal taxes, the parent fascist association is quite content to place in every other group one or two Klansmen who act as its "contact men" steering the group in the direction of the Klan's present policy—formation organization of a united fifth-column political party, complete to candidates and storm troopers, by time that we elect a president in 1948.

As far back as 1938, the Klan organized a loose coalition of seventy-two fascist organizations into the American Nationalist Confederation with the intention of backing General George Van Horn Moseley of Atlanta as our country's "Man on Horseback." The American Nationalist Confederation, headed by indicted seditionist and Klansman George W. Deatherage of St. Albans, West Virginia, has since become incorporated into the American Nationalist Party headed by Hitler's staunch admirer, ex-U. S. Senator Robert Rice Reynolds of North Carolina.

But Reynolds will not be the final choice of the Klan and its allied organizations for the honor of being America's first fascist ruler, so I am informed by "inside sources." At present, the man who once said that Hitler and Mussolini "had a date with destiny" is being used as a bellwether for dissatisfied, war-weary Americans who have become tired of the two old parties. The man, whom the Klan will finally pump for, will probably be some high-ranking military officer wearing the Purple Heart. He may or may not be a Southerner. But one of his main battlegrounds will be the South—and the ground is being made ready for him not only by the Klan but by the Christian Americans, the Mason-Dixon Society, and other such organizations digging deep in southern soil because they figure that the pickings will be worth the digging.

Hate Rackets

It is almost a platitude to say that how deep the hate rackets will get with their spadework depends upon how fast the progressive elements of the South and America start with their spadework. But it must be pointed out emphatically that the digging is going to be much harder once the different factions of what its sponsors call the "nationalist" movement unite under one name and one fuehrer. Today, before the merchants of hate have fully integrated themselves in the grassroots communities of the South, we still have a chance to announce some simple truths in the simple language used by the kleagles and the storm troopers to announce their lies. But the job may be almost impossible once one or the other of the fascist organizations has set up a propaganda machine in a community, and the lies have taken root.

Maybe, the simplest and most profound of all truths for America is that the very continuance of world civilization may depend upon the restoration through whatever legislative measures that may be necessary, of civilization to the South. For, increasingly, the fascist organizations incubating in Dixie will become the physical force behind those imperialists of our country who see in the atomic bomb a weapon for subjugating the world's peoples as the Negro people are now subjugated in Dixie.

Germany again took the road of empire when German industrialists developed the National Socialist Party as the political expression of empire. And, tomorrow, if America does not heed the lesson of the German ruins, Alabama may be moving to take over Asia.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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Liberian Centennial

(*Continued from page* 206)

movement was launched which terminated in a convention which on July 26, 1847, issued a document declaring the Commonwealth a free and independent nation designated as the *Republic of Liberia* with a form of government and flag similar to that of the United States. Justifying Liberia's demand for nationhood, the draftsmen of its Declaration of Independence wrote in part:

"We the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America. The western coast of Africa was selected by American benevolence and philanthropy for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped that we would be able to enjoy those rights and privileges which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

"Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion; in the name of the Great God, our common creator and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask them, that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration, to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and extend to us that comity, which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities."

As governor of the Commonwealth and first president of the Republic (taking office in 1847), the Virginia born Negro, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, worked tirelessly and resourcefully to set the course of Liberia's early national destiny. In 1844 he visited the United States and during the years of his presidency toured the capitals of leading European nations prompting diplomatic recognition of his country. Liberians today look upon former President Roberts as the father of the Republic, whose subsequent history reveals other statesmen who rose to comparable distinction.

During World War I Liberia was a member of the Allied Nations. Casting her lot with the United Nations in World War II, she holds membership in the United Nations Organization for International Peace and Security. During the War the Republic furnished more crude rubber to meet the distressed Allied need than was available from any other source except Ceylon, India. United States aircraft bases in Liberia figured significantly in the United Nations' counter offensive strategy against the enemy's North African and Mediterrenean warfare.

As the Republic of Liberia approaches its Centennial, the Nation takes account of its past and prepares for a future in which it must meet the acid tests of a dynamic civilization. Fortified with a heritage, enriched by its one hundred and twenty-four years as a colony, commonwealth and republic, Liberia keeps faith with its past and moves forth into the new era in a manner characterized by accelerated internal progress and significant international intercourse.

DEMOSTHENES

One whisper falls into a pool of silence;
The ripples widen
Until the whispering pool becomes a
stream of syllables
Which run into a lively chattering
brook of words.
These form long sentences that, flowing
down,
Create a mighty river of strong and
fiery speech.
Tumbling, roaring, rushing like an
angry torrent,
They drown themselves in a foaming
ocean of sound.

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To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that my late daughter, Margaret A. Melton, was insured Nov. 13, 1944 with Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc., and that she died Jan. 29, 1946. Two days after reporting her death to the Portsmouth, Va., district office of this company, I received check for $500.00 in full settlement of the claim.

I further state that I carry insurance with this company and because of its prompt service, I shall endeavor to have all of my relatives and friends to place insurance with it.

Wishing the company continued success, I beg to remain,

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